THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE constantly recurring attacks of fever under which Lieutenant Conder has suffered during the winter have necessitated a postponement of the return of the Survey Expedition till the autumn. In order, however, that time may not be lost, an office has been taken at the Royal Albert Hall, where the party are at present engaged in preparing the map for publication. It is hoped to be able to place in the hands of the engraver before the end of the year at least two-thirds of the great map of Western Palestine (West of the Jordan). The part remaining to be finished consists of the greater part of Galilee and a small piece in the south.

The Survey party consists of Lieutenants Conder and Kitchener, Sergeant Armstrong, and Corporals Maule, Wilson, Brophy, and Malings, all of the Royal Engineers. The four last have been specially granted by the War Office for this purpose.

Full particulars of the mode, time, and place of the publication of the great map will be given in an early number of the *Quarterly Statement*. At present we can only state, in addition to the above facts, that a Survey Publication Committee has been appointed; and that the map will be accompanied by special memoirs which will contain all the facts collected by the officers of the Survey.

Intelligence has been received that the Court at Damascus, to which appeal was made in the Safed affair, have confirmed the judgment of the Acre Court. The ringleaders are in prison; a fine of £150 has been levied upon the place, and is waiting for the English Consul-General of Syria at Acre. This is much less than was asked, and it is not yet certain that the English Government will consent to receive this amount as compensation. The moral effect of the judgment, the arrest of the prisoners, and the actual enforcement of the fine, is reported to be excellent, and the determined attitude of Mr. Consul Moore in the affair will doubtless bear good fruit in the behaviour of the natives for some time to come.

The papers by Lieutenant Conder for this number of the *Quarterly* may be taken as illustrations of the results to be expected from the map. He has taken the two most ancient documents existing on Palestine topography and subjected them to comparison with the new map. One of these, a translation of which was given by Mr. C. W. Goodwin, in the Cambridge Essays of 1853, and again published in the "Records of the Past," vol. ii., 1875 (Bagster and Co.), gives an account of the travels of an Egyptian official in Palestine. The date of the journey is assigned by M. Chabas to some period between the 12th and the 15th centuries B.C. Lieutenant Conder has followed the route of this traveller step by step, identifying the places he visited by means of the new names he has obtained from the Survey.

The second document is that published by Mariette Bey, and consists of lists on the walls of the pylones of the Temple at Karnak, of places conquered by Thothmes III. Those names which belong to Palestine are of the Canaanite period. It is a list older than the lists in the Book of Joshua. The identifications proposed by Lieutenant Conder will be found in his paper.

The first memoir which Lieutenant Conder will prepare is that on the sheet called the Jenîn sheet. It includes forty-eight biblical sites (either new or old identifications), with twenty identifications of early date. On examination of the list of names, the following points of interest were noticed.

(1) *Affarea*, a town mentioned by Jerome as six Roman miles north of Megiddo, = *el Farriyeh*, at exactly that distance.

(2) *Arbol*, noticed in the Onomasticon as nine miles from Megiddo in the great plain, = *Arabûneh*, at the proper distance.

(3) *Adamah*, a town of Naphtali, situate west of the Sea of Galilee, = *Kh. Admah*, near Kaukab el Hawa, on the north of Wady Bireh (which appears to form the boundary).

(4) *Anem*, a town of Manasseh, apparently near Jenîn, = el Ghannâm, two miles south of Jenîn.

(5) *Kedesh*, a town of Issachar, and therefore in the great plain, = *Tell Abu Kadis*, an ancient site near Megiddo.

(6) *Aner*, a town of Manasseh, probably *'Allar*, in the territory of that tribe.

(7) *Ain el Jem'aîn*, "fountain of the two troops," possibly the well Harod, where Gideon divided his men, being near Gilboa.

(8) *Anahareth*, a town apparently near Shunem, belonging to Issachar. The name is almost exactly represented by the modern *en-Naurah*, in the required position.

(9) Megiddo and Bethshan were separate cities belonging to Manasseh; about a mile from each is a Tell with a name somewhat resembling Manasseh—viz., *Tel Menesi*, near the former, and Tell *el Menshîyeh*, near the latter.

(10) In the plain of Beisan are found the name of *Rahab*, a place called *Gilgal* near it, and a ford of Jordan called "the ford *opened by God*."

The long promised restoration of the Moabite Stone by M. Clermont-Ganneau is at last completed. A fac-simile cast, in white plaster, has been presented to the Committee by the authorities of the Louvre. A photograph has been taken, which can now be obtained at Stanford's establishment, 55, Charing Cross. The

position of the actual fragments is very clearly marked; there can be no confusion between them and the part restored by means of the squeeze in the possession of M. Ganneau.

We regret to say that the delay in the publication of the promised archæological work on the Researches of M. Clermont-Ganneau, is due to the illness of that indefatigable worker. But the book has not been given up, and will be proceeded with as soon as its principal author is able to go on with it.

We publish on page 99 a remarkable paper by Professor Sprenger, the well-known eminent Orientalist, which sums up, and, we hope, finally disposes of the famous Shapira forgeries, which were first exposed almost simultaneously by M. Clermont-Ganneau and the late Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake.

The American Expedition, east of the Jordan, commanded by Colonel Lane, has suspended work for the present. Colonel Lane has returned to New York. The Rev. Selah Merrill is still in Syria. They have made a large collection of photographs, which will immediately be published. Their route lay through the Hauran, southward through Moab, and so on to Jerusalem. Among the important places photographed are Kunawât, the Kenath of Numbers xxxii. 42; Busrah, the Moabite Bozrah of Jeremiah xlviii. 24, supposed to be distinct from the Bozrah of Edom, mentioned elsewhere; Um el-Gemal, identified as the Beth-gamul of Jeremiah xlviii. 23; Jerash, the Gerasa of Roman history; and Ammân, the Rabbath-Ammon of Scripture, and the Philadelphia of Greek and Roman annals. These cities are all within a circuit of fifty miles to the east and south-east of the Sea of Galilee, except the last, which is more distant towards the south-east.

The descriptive catalogue of about ninety has been prepared by the Rev. Selah Merrill. The whole will be published as soon as possible. The future action of the New York Committee has not yet been decided upon.

Lieut. Kitchener's Guinea Book of Biblical Photographs will be published at Easter. It contains twelve views, with a short account of each. They are mounted on tinted boards, and handsomely bound. The following is the list of the selected views :—

1. The Valley of Sorek (1 Sam. vi. 12).
2. The Valley of Michmash (Judges xx. 31, and Isaiah x. 28).
3. Mount Moriah.
4. The Mosque El Aksa.
5. Elisha's Fountain (2 Kings ii. 22).
6. Bethlehem.
7. Interior of the Dome of the Rock.
8. The Baptism in Jordan.
9. Cana in Galilee.
10. Bethany.
11. The "Via Dolorosa."
12. The Traditional Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

All Lieut. Kitchener's views can be obtained at the same rate as the ordinary photographs of the Fund, of the agent, Mr. Edward Stanford, 55, Charing Cross. The complete list is on page 62.

The financial position of the Fund may be ascertained by reference to the balance-sheet and the Treasurer's statement, shewing a balance of £555 still due to the Treasurer. It should be observed that the balance against the Fund has been reduced from £759 18s. on December 31, 1875, to £200 0s. 4d. on March 28, 1876.

The income from all sources from January 1 to March 28 amounted to £1395 13s. 4d., and the balance at the banks on the last day was £561 2s. 2d.

The expenses during the stay at home are somewhat diminished, but as the Survey party now consists of seven officers and men, about £200 a month is still required for the necessary expenses. Subscribers will observe that the work of map drawing is imperative, and would have had to be done at the conclusion of the Survey, so that no time is lost. The Committee earnestly hope that the annual subscriptions will be paid on the usual application being made, if not before.

The following are the diocesan representatives of the Society :—

PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.

Diocese of Exeter : Rev. Franklin Bellamy, St. Mary's Vicarage, Devonport.

Gloucester and Bristol : E. H. Stanley, Esq., 80, City Road, Bristol.

Archdeaconry of Hereford : Rev. J. S. Stooke-Vaughan, Wellington Heath Vicarage, Ledbury.

Archdeaconry of Salop : Rev. A. F. Forbes, Badger Rectory.

,, Lichfield : ,, ,,

London : Rev. Henry Geary, 26B, North Audley Street.

Norwich : Rev. F. C. Long, Stowupland, Stowmarket.

Essex : Rev. W. H. A. Emra, Great Blakenham Rectory.

Peterborough : Rev. A. F. Foster, Farndish Rectory, Wellingborough.

Worcester : Rev. F. W. Holland, Evesham (Member of General and Executive Committee, and one of the Hon. Secretaries to the Fund).

Archdeaconries of Canterbury, Maidstone, and Surrey : Rev. R. J. Griffiths, 10, Trafalgar Road, Old Kent Road, S.E.

PROVINCE OF YORK.

York : Rev. J. De Courcy Baldwin, Training College, York.

Archdeaconry of Craven : Rev. J. C. Henley, Kirkby Malham Vicarage.

IRELAND.

Rev. G. J. Stokes, Blackrock, Dublin.

The Rev. Horrocks Cocks, 17, Edwardes Square, London, S.W., has also kindly offered his services among Nonconformist churches.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications by officers of the Fund, the Committee beg it to be distinctly understood that they leave such proposals to be discussed on their own merits, and that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* the Committee do not sanction or adopt them.

Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year when due, at their *earliest convenience*, and without waiting for application. It is best to cross all cheques and post-office orders to Coutts and Co.

The Committee are always grateful for the return of old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which are advertised as out of print.

Ladies desirous of joining the Ladies' Associations are requested to communicate with Mrs. Finn, The Elms, Brook Green, London, W.

Cases for binding the *Quarterly Statements* are now ready, and can be had on application to Messrs. R. Bentley and Son, 8, New Burlington Street, or to the office of the Fund. They are in green or brown cloth, with the stamp of the Society, uniform in appearance with "Our Work in Palestine," price one shilling. They can be obtained for any year by subscribers who have complete sets.

TOMB AT JERUSALEM.

A VERY interesting tomb has recently been opened about two miles from Jerusalem in the direction of Sur-bâhir. It consists of a cave in which has been constructed of masonry a chamber measuring seven and a half feet by ten feet, with "deep" loculi, also of masonry, on each of its four sides. The roof of this chamber is formed by the rock, which slopes downwards towards the door. The loculi are eighteen in number—eight on the left side (four above four), six on the right (four above two), two at the end opposite the door, and one on each side of the door. They are all somewhat larger than the usual rock-cut loculi, measuring nearly two feet by two feet. They were each closed by a stone slab carefully fitted, and these slabs have been removed by the fellahin, and are now lying upon the floor of the chamber. On the north side, opposite the door, is the usual bench, also of masonry. The entrance is by a descent of seven (or eight) steps; it is closed by a stone door still *in situ*, and swinging on its pivots, and having a groove on its inner side for the lock. Some of the lead with which the lock was fixed still remains. The masonry is of large well-dressed stones, and the joints are carefully cemented. The loculus farthest from the door on the western side leads into a portion of the cave beyond the masonry, and in this are ancient loculi sunk in the rock. In one of the loculi remains of iron nails and wood were found, which probably formed part of a coffin. No inscriptions or crosses were discovered upon the masonry, or the lamps found in the tomb, but a cross is rudely cut on the rock outside, and there can be

little doubt that the masonry is of the Christian period, an old sepulchral cavern, whose loculi had crumbled away, having been utilised by building new tombs within it. On a hill just above is a site called Khirbet Subkhah, where are several cisterns and large stones. One of the latter bears some rude crosses cut upon it. Masonry tombs are very rare in South Palestine, and the stone door still upon its hinges is unique. It is much to be desired that this monument be preserved from destruction, but there is probably little chance of this, as the stones are valuable for building. The swinging stone door in a tomb of comparatively recent date is of considerable archæological interest, as showing that these doors were in use at a later period than is commonly supposed. THOS. CHAPLIN, M.D.

Jerusalem, March 2nd, 1876.

THE STONE OF FOUNDATION.

THE following from the Mishnah Yoma, v. 2, translated for me, January 30, 1872, by the late Emanuel Deutsch, may prove interesting with reference to Dr. Chaplin's paper on the "Stone of Foundation," published in the *Athenæum*, p. 608, 1875:—

Yoma, v. 2. "Since the ark had been taken away [*i.e.*, since the days of the first Temple] there was [only] a stone there [in the Holy of Holies] from the time of the first prophets; and its name was Shithiah [foundation], three fingers' height above the ground, and upon it did he [the high priest] place it [the incense]."

CHARLES WARREN.

Waltham Abbey, Jan. 28th 1876.

NEW PHOTOGRAPHS.

THE following is Lieut. Kitchener's complete list:—

1. Scene of the Return of the Ark.
2. Scene of the Attack on the Philistines' Camp by Jonathan and his Armour-bearer.
3. Mount Moriah, the Site of Solomon's Temple.
4. Site of Solomon's Palace.
5. Elisha's Fountain.
6. Bethlehem.
7. Interior of Dome of the Rock.
8. The Jordan.
9. Cana in Galilee.
10. Bethany.
11. Way of the Cross.

12. The Traditional Church of the Holy Sepulchre.
13. Jerusalem: View from Palestine Exploration Fund house on Zion.
14. Citadel at Jerusalem.
15. Abbey Church of St. Marie la Grande, Jerusalem.
16. West Window of ditto.
17. Cloisters of ditto.
18. General View north of Jerusalem.
19. Jeremiah's Grotto north of Jerusalem.
20. Dome of the Rock, interior.
21. Ditto, showing architectural details.
22. Sebil Keyat Bey, Haram Enclosure, Jerusalem.
23. Kubbet el Abd, near Jerusalem.
24. Site of Bether (Bittir), near Jerusalem.
25. Boundary of Judah—Kustal in the distance.
26. Church of Santa Hannah, Beit Jibrin.
27. Cave at Beit Jibrin (Columbaria).
28. Fortifications at Beit Jibrin.
29. Details of Arcade at Beit Jibrin.
30. Adullam, showing the Caves.
31. Ditto, showing the Site of the City.
32. Ascalon: General View from East.
33. Ditto: View from East Wall.
34. Ditto: View on Sea-shore.
35. Ditto: Tomb Sheikh Mohammed el Messelli.
36. Ditto: Well (Bir el Kushleh).
37. Ashdod from the South.
38. West Door of Church of St. John, Gaza.
39. Interior of ditto (now used as a mosque).
40. Mosque in Jamnia.
41. Scene at Well, Jamnia.
42. Makkedah (El Moghar) from the East.
43. Valley of Elah, looking west, near Shochoh: scene of battle between David and Goliath.
44. Ditto, looking East.
45. Shefa Amr: Village and Castle.
46. Ditto: Rock-cut Tomb.
47. Church of St. Anne and St. Joachim at Seffurieh.
48. Castle at Seffurieh.
49. Convent at Kasr-Hajlah (Beth Hogla).
50. Masada from North-West, showing the Roman Bank.

To these must be added a photograph of the Restored Moabite Stone and one of M. Clermont-Ganneau's Vase of Bezetha.

LADIES' ASSOCIATIONS.

We have pleasure in stating that the Ladies' Associations in aid of the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund are increasing in number. Mrs. Finn has held meetings at the houses of friends in various places, and one result has been that several hundred persons have heard—some of them for the first time—of the discoveries made by Major Wilson and Captain Warren in Jerusalem, as well as of those made by Lieut. Conder and M. Clermont Ganneau in other parts of the Holy Land. Although many thousand copies of our Quarterly Reports have been circulated, and numerous articles on the subject have appeared in the newspapers and in magazines, it is the fact that there are still numbers of people who do not know that any very definite results have been obtained, or any discoveries of importance made in Palestine. Mrs. Finn has been able, by means of drawings, photographs, and a model of the Temple Sanctuary, to bring home to the minds of many the extraordinary nature of the ancient Temple walls discovered by Capt. Warren. The following is a list, in their order, of the meetings thus held, and the best thanks of the Committee are tendered to the ladies and gentlemen who, by opening their houses, have thus given us opportunities of making our work known in a pleasant and effectual manner.

A meeting was held Jan. 6, at Mrs. De Bergue's, 17, Kensington Palace Gardens, and a large company was present. Colonel Gawler took the chair, and spoke in support of the object.

Jan. 11. The Rev. T. Cornthwaite had a meeting at his house at Walthamstow, and he addressed the assemblage on the subject brought under their notice.

Jan. 17. About sixty persons assembled, being invited to a private room kindly lent for the purpose, at the Crystal Palace, to Mrs. Standring, the secretary of the Sydenham Ladies' Association. The Rev. Canon Gover, Rev. Mr. Franklyn, and Mr. Standring addressed the meeting.

Jan. 21. Lady Smith and Colonel Pinney assembled their friends at their house in Somersetshire, Somerton Erleigh, to hear about the Exploration work. This meeting led to a series of other meetings being held in neighbouring places, viz., on Jan. 25, at Mr. and Mrs. F. H. Dickinson's, Kingweston; on Feb. 1, at Weston-super-Mare, where the Rev. Mr. Hunt presided, and Mrs. Tomkins undertook the office of Secretary to the Ladies' Association formed after the meeting.

On Feb. 2 a meeting was held at Lympsham, which was attended by many ladies and gentlemen, as also by the inhabitants of the parish, invited by the Rector, Rev. J. H. Stephenson (Rural Dean), and Mrs. Stephenson. The Rector spoke, as did also the Ven. Archdeacon Denison, of East Brent, expressing their deep interest in the information which had been given to the meeting.

Two meetings were held in Clifton, one by kind permission of Miss

Heptinstall, at 2, Rodney Place. The Right Rev. Bishop Anderson presided, and addressed the meeting, as did also the Rev. W. Wallace and the Rev. J. B. Goldberg, local secretaries. Another meeting was held at the house of Miss Harris. The Rev. Robert Taylor presided at this meeting. The next was held by invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Wingfield Digby, at Sherborne Castle, where a large party met. Mr. Digby presided, and addressed the company on the subject. The Rev. F. W. Portman, Rev. M. and Mrs. Hawtrey, and about seventy other guests were present at this gathering.

On Feb. 11, the Rev. Canon and Miss Meade assembled their friends at the Vicarage at Castle Cary, and Canon Meade opened the meeting by a short address recommending the subject to his friends, among whom were Mr. H. E. and Mrs. Bennett, of Sparkford Hall, who a few days afterwards (Feb. 18) collected another company at their own house for the same purpose. Meetings were also given at Hornblotton Rectory by the Rev. Godfrey and Mrs. Thring, and at Rimpton Rectory, by the Rev. M. and Mrs. Hawtrey, who spared no pains in collecting their various friends to hear the accounts of our work in Palestine.

The Rev. Canon and Mrs. Pratt had a meeting at the Rectory, Shepton Mallet, on Feb. 21, presided over by Canon Pratt. Some of those who had attended the meetings above mentioned wrote to Torquay and enlisted the aid of friends there, who in their turn obtained the co-operation of others in extending our efforts among our lady friends. The first meeting in Torquay was held at the house of Dr. and Mrs. Macintosh, and this led to others—*i.e.*, one at the house of Mrs. Tinner, where the Rev. Flavel Cook made an eloquent address, urging the importance of the work now being done in the Holy Land. Another meeting was held at Mr. and Mrs. A. R. Hunt's. Meanwhile, friends living at Earley, near Reading, arranged a meeting at the house of Mr. and Mrs. C. Stephens, and a Ladies' Association was formed at Earley, Mrs. Stephens undertaking the office of secretary. A similar meeting was held at Miss Buckland's, Blenheim House. Other friends had taken the matter up at Oxford. The Rev. H. and Mrs. De Brisay opened their house during a whole week for a series of meetings. A special meeting was also held for a large number of young ladies. A very considerable interest appears to have been created, and we trust that our work may commend itself to many in that ancient seat of learning as one of real practical value. Measures have been taken for the formation of a Ladies' Association in Oxford.

Mrs. Charles, of Combe Edge, Branch Hill, Hampstead, invited a large party to her house on the 21st March, and, in spite of the inclement weather, about eighty assembled. On the following day, the 22nd, there was a full meeting at the house of Col. and Miss Fyers, 25, Kensington Square; and another very large meeting on the evening of the 23rd, at Woneford Green, at the house of Mr. and Mrs. Johnston.

PROPOSED TESTS FOR THE SURVEY.

THE following identifications I have carefully collected, and propose to enlarge upon as forming the best tests of the character of the Survey work. They refer to places the positions of which can be obtained with accuracy, from such sources as the Onomasticon, the Talmud, or the various itineraries. They have been collected during the last few months only, and consequently the map has been made in ignorance of the existence of such records. If, then, we are able simply by measurement to discover in their proper places, and with their proper names, sites as obscure as those about to be noted, we may fairly argue that the probabilities are in favour of all the more important names and places existing on the new Survey, and requiring only patience and scholarship to fix in a generally satisfactory manner. The examples given are merely a selection of those most evidently correct out of a number of about forty.

Enam.—The words *Phathach 'Ainim* (פתח עינים) occurring in Gen. xxxviii. 14, and translated in the English version "in an open place," are understood by the Rabbis (Sotah, 10a Tal. Bab.)* to form the name of a town, situate, to use the words of the Authorised Version, "by the way to Timnath." The Septuagint agrees with this, translating the words πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις Αινάν "by the gates of Ainan," or "by the *opening* of Ainan." In the list of the towns of Judah we find the name of a town, Tappuah Enam, occurring (Josh. xv. 34) immediately after En Gannim, which is proposed by M. Ganneau for the modern *Umm Jina*. This town, therefore, is also to be sought in the vicinity of Timnath, and in all probability would be identical with Phathach 'Ainim.

In the Talmud 'Anim (ענים) is noted as a *Kefr* or village (Pesikta Rabbathi, ch. 23), but the same place is evidently mentioned in the Onomasticon under the name Αἰνάν or Ænam as a ruin. "Euntibus Thamnam nunc desertus locus et proximus Thamnæ vico grandi"—viz., "now a deserted place and close to the great village of Thamna."

Close to the site of Thamna, now Tibneh, three miles to the east, on an ancient road coming from Adullam—the very road by which the patriarch Judah would have come from Adullam to Timnah, as related in the passage commented upon (Gen. xxxviii. 14)—will be found on the Survey the ruin called *'Allin* or *Wad 'Allein*. This, with the ordinary substitution so common in the Fellahin dialect of L for N or N for L, represents exactly the Hebrew 'Ainim or 'Anim. On the south side of the ruin there is, moreover, a spring to which the name *Fatîr* is given, possibly a corruption of the Phathach or Tappuah of the Old Testament. This discovery makes the list of fourteen cities of the Shephelah in the group of which the Royal cities Jarmuth and Adullam, were capitals (Josh. xv. 33) almost complete.

* The quotations of the Gemara are as a rule taken from Neubauer's *Geographie du Talmud*.

II.

Anuath.—The division between Judæa and Samaria has never been very accurately determined. According to Josephus (B. J. iii. 3. 5) the whole plain of Sharon up to Ptolemais belonged to Judæa, and Samaria therefore had no sea-coast. There is, however, some doubt as to this portion, for Antipatris is spoken of by the Rabbis as a boundary town between the Jews and the Samaritans (Gittin, 76a Tal. Bab.), and Caphar Saba as a Samaritan town (Demoi, ii. 2, Tal. Jer.) Josephus gives the village of Anuath as situate on the same boundary (B. J. iii. 3. 5). The words in the Greek are (Η)'Ανουὰθ Βορκέως προσαγορευομενη κωμη. "Anuath, a village *belonging to* Borceos" (προσαγορευω having the meaning *to assign or attribute to*). This is badly translated "*which is also named*," by Whiston. By a curious mistake Borceos has been identified with *Burkin*, near Jenin, under the mistaken impression that it marked the *northern* boundary of Samaria (cf. Neubauer's Geographie du Talmud, p. 57). A glance at the passage in Josephus is, however, sufficient to show this to be wrong.

In the Onomasticon we find mention of a town called Anua or Ανουα, as between Jerusalem and Neapolis. According to Eusebius it is on the road between the two towns, fifteen Roman miles from the latter, but Jerome places it at ten miles from Neapolis. If this be the Anuath of Josephus, the town of Borceos is to be sought not far off.

In a former paper I have shown that a similar discrepancy between Jerome and Eusebius is due to the fact of two places of the same name existing near one another. This is probably the case in the present instance. To the west of the main road, from Nablus to Jerusalem, at a distance of thirteen English miles, or fourteen and one-third Roman miles from Nablus, is the ruin of *Aliata*, marked on the Nablus sheet of the Survey; this with the very common change of N and L, is very near in sound to Anua or Anuath. Farther north, and to the east of the ancient road through Shiloh from Nablus to Jerusalem, at the distance of nine English or ten Roman miles from Neapolis, is the ruin of 'Ainah, which even more exactly reproduces the Anua of the Onomasticon or the Anuath of Josephus.

It seems most probable that this latter ruin represents the boundary town (for *Aliata*, the Anoua of Eusebius, is situate south of Shiloh, which appears to have belonged to Judæa); so placed, the boundary of Samaria and Judæa becomes immediately plain. A great watercourse rising at 'Akrabeh (the Accrabi of Josephus) passes by the ruin of *Ainah* on the north, and descends into the little plain north of Lebonah (*Libben*). Thence it continues westwards and becomes of great depth, with precipitous sides passing *Ferkha* (Pherha of the Talmud) on the south side, and beyond this by the important village of *Brukin*. It here obtains the name of *Wady Deir Ballut*, from the fine ruined convent of *Deir Ballut* on its north bank. At this point I once crossed the valley and found it the most formidable we ever encountered, excepting

that of Michmash. Farther west, the same valley runs into the Aujeh River close to *Ras el 'Ain*, the probable site of Antipatris.

There is more than one indication that this is the proper boundary of Samaria. 1st. The Accrabattene Toparchy, of which Accrabi (Akrabeh) was the capital, was on the marches between Samaria and Judæa (B. J. iii. 3). 2nd. Caphar Etæa was a Samaritan town, according to Justin. Martyr (Apol. ii.), and is no doubt the present *Kefr 'Atia*, near the head of the valley. 3rd. Shiloh and Lebonah, on the south of the division, appear to have belonged to Judæa, whilst Pherha (*Ferkha*) on the north seems to have been Samaritan. 4th. Again, Antipatris was on the very boundary which agrees with the debouching of the wady into the plain.

If in the ruin of *'Ainah* we recover through the Onomasticon the Anuath of Josephus, it is evident that the village of *Brukin* represents Borceos. The distance of these two places apart is only eleven miles, so that Ainah may very well be said to have belonged to Brukin.

As regards the northern Samaritan boundary the Survey also gives new information. Bethshean, En Gannim, and a place called Xaloth,* are noted by Josephus as on the boundary between Samaria and Galilee. To these the Talmud adds Caphar Outheni (כפר עיתני) (*Mishna Gittin*, vii. 8), which M. Neubauer supposes to be identical with the modern Kefr Kud (p. 57). Close to this, however, on the Survey (Jenin sheet) will be found the village of *Kefr 'Adhán*, which evidently reproduces very closely the Aramaic name 'Autni.

III.

Bethsarisa.—In 2 Kings iv. 42, we find mention of "a man of Baal-shalisha." The LXX. version in both texts has βαιθσαρισα. We find also a Land of Shalisha mentioned in Saul's journey to seek the asses of Kish (1 Sam. ix. 4), which may very probably be connected with the town of Beth Sarisa.

In the Onomasticon we find noticed a βαιθσαρισαθ, or Bethsarisa, as the place called Baalshalisha in the English version, at about fifteen Roman miles towards the north of Lydda (Diospolis), and in the Regio Thamnitica. Jerome uses the expression "ferme"—*i.e.*, "scarcely"—in translating the fifteen miles of Eusebius. Measuring on the map, we find at a distance of thirteen English miles, or about fourteen and one-third Roman miles, a large ruined village called *Sirisia*. There can be little doubt that this is the Bethsarisa of the Onomasticon, though there is nothing so far to show whether or no it be the Biblical Beth Shalisha. The discovery is of interest principally as giving a point within the Regio Thamnitica, or country of Timnath Heres, a district the boundaries of which have not as yet been determined. The position of

* Xaloth is generally identified with Iksal (Chesulloth Joseph, Chisloth Tabor, Josh. xix.) This does not agree with the northern boundary of Samaria. It is more probably *Ikzim* on the south-west side of Carmel.

Sirisia tends to show that the limits are to be taken at the edge of the Plain of Sharon.

Baal Shalisha (בעל שלשה) is also mentioned in the Talmud (Sanhedrim 12a Tal. Bab.) The fruit is here said (commenting on that brought to Elisha by one of its inhabitants) to ripen earlier than in other parts of Palestine. The Targum of Jonathan translates Shalisha by Daroma, the name of a district of which the boundaries are not well determined, though at one time it seems clearly to have included the country round Lydda (Pesachim v. 3). The Land of Shalisha was the first district entered by Saul on leaving Mount Ephraim, and is therefore to be sought near to it. We have therefore here those indications of the position of Baal Shalisha:—

1st. In Daroma, or the low hills near Lydda, according to the Talmudic use of the word.

2nd. In low country not in the high hills where the seasons are later, and where Elisha (then at the mountain Gilgal, now *Jiljilia*) would have possibly found no corn at the time (cf. 2 Kings iv. 42).

3rd. Not far from Mount Ephraim (1 Sam. ix. 4).

These all point to the identity of Baalshalisha with the site claimed as identical by Jerome, and determined by us as the present ruin of *Sirisia*.

IV.

Bezek.—I have had occasion to point out in a former report (January, 1875, *Quarterly Statement*) that the value of the Onomasticon consists in its facts rather than in its theories, and that whilst the most intimate knowledge of the country is shown by Eusebius and Jerome, the science of identification was not well understood by them.

Baalshalisha, we see by aid of the Jewish Commentaries, probably was correctly identified by them, but in the present instance an entirely wrong identification is suggested.

The Bezek of Adonibezek I have shown to be probably the present *Beit Z'ata*, south of Jerusalem; the Onomasticon, however, notices a Bezek on the road from Neapolis (Nablus) to Scythopolis (Beisan), and seventeen Roman miles from the former. This we find on the Survey as the ruin of *Ibzik*, fourteen English miles (fifteen and a half Roman) from Nablus on the road in question. In pure Arabic the name would be *Bezik*, the addition of an *aleph* before the consonant being a common vulgarism in the dialect of the Fellahin.

V.

Netopha.—This town is mentioned in the Bible (Ezra ii. 22; Nehemiah vii. 26), in lists of which the order appears consecutive, as being between Bethlehem and Anathoth. Under the name Netopha, or Metopa, the same place is noticed in the Acta Sanctorum as "in solitudine," or in the wilderness of Judah.

In the Talmud (Sheviith ix. 5, Mishna) the Vale of Beth Netopha (בקעת בית נטופה) is noticed as well watered and grassy. These two

places can scarcely be the same. The Talmudic town may well be identified with the present *Beit Nettif* in the Shephelah, south-west of Jerusalem.

The Biblical town has never yet been identified as far as I can find in the best authorities. On the Survey (Jerusalem sheet) the ruins of a town called *Metoba* or *Umm Toba* will be found north-east of Bethlehem on the edge of the Marsaba desert, thus fulfilling the requisites of the two Biblical lists, and of the later Acta Sanctorum.

VI.

A few scattered Talmudic notices may be classed together as follows:—

1. *Garob* is mentioned in the Gemara (Sanhedrim 103a Tal. Bab.) as situate three miles from Shiloh. M. Neubauer proposes to read Jerusalem for Shiloh (Geog. Tal. p. 150) and identify it with Gareb (Jeremiah xxxi. 39). At the distance of three miles west of Shiloh (*Seilún*) and south of Lebonah (*Libben*) will be found on the Survey a ruin called *Gharabeh*, which is probably the Talmudic Garob (גרב), the Arabic letter *ghain* representing, as in other cases, the Hebrew *Gimel*.

2. *Cozeba*.—In a former report I have suggested the identity of the ancient town of Chozeba (1 Chron. iv. 22) with the present ruin of *Kuweizibah*. In the Talmud Beth Cozeba is noticed (Midrash Tanhuma sect. Hukkath 68a), as having a *Bek'ah*, or small plain. This would agree with the proposed site, which is situate immediately south of the great Wady Arrub (valley of Berachoth, 2 Chron. xx. 26), a broad valley to which the term would apply.

3. *Kefr Aziz*—Is noted as being south of Jerusalem, as follows:—

"If one shall train a vine upon any part of a fruit tree, it is lawful to sow seed under the remaining part. . . . Instance: R. Joshua went to Rabbi Ishmael at Kefr Aziz. He showed him a vine hanging on part of a fig-tree, &c., &c. (Mishna, Kilaim vi. 4.)

Rabbi Ishmael lived in Idumea, as we learn from another passage: "Rabbi Jose said, No one orders barley (for feeding a wife) except R. Ishmael, who was by Idumea. (Mishna, Ketuboth v. 8.)

Kefr Aziz may therefore be very probably identified with the great ruin of Aziz discovered by the Survey party south of Yutta, in the borders of Idumea. This part of Palestine would appear to have been the home of more than one Rabbi, for we find that R. Ziphai was buried at Ziph (Berachoth viii.). His tomb was visited by Isaac Chelo in 1334 A.D., and is no doubt the fine sepulchral monument planned by us immediately south of the present *Tell Zif*.

At Maon (*M'ain*) also, a little farther south, there was a synagogue, traces of which still remain.

4. *Yajúr* is mentioned (Tosaphta, Oholoth, ch. xviii.) with a place called Júb or Gúb, and "the great tomb" as the limits of the impurity of the town of Ascalon. The inhabitants being idolaters, the town within these limits was not considered as part of the "Land." Thus, in discussing

the limits of the Holy Land (Tosaphta, Sheviith vi. 1, dating about 120 A.D.), the line is drawn at the "Gardens of Ascalon." This would lead us to identify Yajúr with the site of the village of *El Jurah*, just at the limit of the Gardens of Ascalon. The great tomb may possibly be the present tomb-house of *Sheikh Mûhammed*. Júb and the "Tharin," or "gates," cannot be identified, but it would seem from the above that the Roman Ascalon was not much larger than the Crusading enceinte.

In more than one instance the present *Wely* chapels seem to preserve Jewish traditions. Thus the Kubbet (or dome) of *Sheikh Samt*, at Ser'a, seems probably the traditional tomb of Samson mentioned by Isaac Chelo in 1334 A.D., and Berúr Heil, the residence of R. Johanan ben Zakai (Sanhed. 326, Tal. Bab.), in the environs of Yebna, is not improbably the present small mosque of *Abu Hereir*. (See the "Arabs in Palestine," by M. Ganneau, *Macmillan's Magazine*, vol. xxxii., p. 370, and *Quarterly Statement*, October, 1875.)

VII.

In conclusion, some of the less important sites noticed in the various early authorities may be readily identified by use of the Survey.

1. *Choba.*—Χωβα is mentioned in Judith xv. 3, 4, and identified by Reland with the Coabis of the famous Peutinger Tables (a Roman chart dating 393 A.D.), which is shown as twelve miles south of Scythopolis, on the road to Nablus. This has been identified with the modern *Kubatieh*, which, both in position and in spelling, is an unsatisfactory identification. Twelve English miles south of Beisan (Scythopolis) will be found on the Survey a place called *El Mekhobbi*, a ruin with a cliff beside it called *'Arák Khobbi*. This is more probably the Coabis of the Tables, and the name is philologically nearer to Choba than the other identification.

2. *Ceperaria.*—This also is marked in the Peutinger Tables as a station on the road from Bethgabri (*Beit Jibrin*) to Jerusalem. It is placed at eight miles from the former town, and the total distance to the capital, twenty-four Roman miles, measures with great exactitude. There were three roads between Beit Jibrin and Jerusalem. The one shown on the tables is, however, marked as going eastwards to Ceperaria, where several zig-zags are shown, and it then turns almost due north. This is evidently the ancient road passing by Beth Zacharias (Beit Sakaria), and winding down the high hills into the valley of Elah, south of Adullam. The zig-zags represent exactly the general character of this part of the road, and beside it, just east of the great valley at the commencement of the ascent, stands the ruin of *El Kefr*, at a distance of 8¼ Roman miles (7½ English) from Beit Jibrin. This is a new instance of the great value and exactitude of this ancient chart.

3. *Betoœnea.*—In speaking of Aniel, or Ανειρ, the Neiel of Asher (Josh. xix. 27), which is probably the present *Y'anín*, east of Acca, the Onomasticon notices a town called Betoœnea as identical. It is said by Jerome to be situate "fifteen stones from Cæsarea, in the mountain

towards the east side, where also the baths (*lavacra*) are said to be salubrious."

At the distance of sixteen English miles east of Cæsarea, along the great road leading to the plain of Esdraelon, and some few miles south of our camp at Umm el Fahm, we discovered a village called 'Anín. In company with Dr. Chaplin and Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, I visited this place, which we found to be an ancient site. Rock-cut tombs, now filled in with earth, exist to the north side of the village, and we investigated a curious system of water-supply, which I find mentioned in my note-book as follows :—

"Close to 'Anín is a rock-cut passage cement lined just large enough for a man to enter. It runs some 50 feet into the hill, and then becomes only a foot high." 12th October, 1872.

It is marked on the Survey sheet to the north of the village and east of the tombs. It leads out on to a sort of rock platform.

In this we probably have remains of the baths mentioned by Jerome.

4. *Fathoura.*—Under this head, commenting on the town Pethor, the home of Balaam (Numb. xxii. 5), Jerome remarks: "Also near Eleutheropolis is a certain town called Fathura, on the way to Gaza."

I discovered in the spring of 1875 on the ancient road to the plain from Beit Jibrin, at a distance of five English miles, the remains of a town evidently of importance in early Christian times, the present name of which is *Fert.* By a common introversion this may possibly be the Fathura of Jerome, though not the Biblical Pethor, which was east of Jordan.

5. *Salim.*—No fewer than four towns of this name are noticed in the Onomasticon, which may be identified as follows :—

1. Saalim, 7 R. M. west of Eleutheropolis; Summeil, 6½ E. M.
2. Salim, near Neapolis (John iii. 23). Salím.
3. Salem, west of Jerusalem. Deir Salám.
4. Salumias, in plain, 8 R. M. from Scythopolis. Salím.

Under the head Ænon another Salem is noticed as being near that place and Jordan. Ænon is said to be eight miles south of Scythopolis (Beisan). This is the position of the large Christian ruin of *Umm el 'Amdán*, "Mother of Pillars," but we did not succeed in recovering any name like Salem or Ænon. There are several springs near the spot.

6. *Betariph*, a town "near Diospolis (Lydda)" is mentioned in the same work in connection with Avim of Benjamin. It is probably the modern *Deir Tarif*, another instance of the fact that the title *Deir*, "Convent," applies as a rule to Christian sites only.

7. *Hasta*, between Ashdod and Ascalon, is probably the present ruin of *Khasseh.*

8. *Asor.*—Four towns, apparently ancient Hazors, are placed as follows by Jerome :—

a. Aser, between Ascalon and Azotus, possibly *Yasin.*

b. Aser, 15 R. M. from Neapolis, on road to Scythopolis, possibly the important Christian ruin of *Yerzeh*, situate on an ancient

road 13 English miles from Neapolis, 14⅓ Roman. It is not marked on any published map that I have seen, but was evidently a large place.

c. *Asor*, in "the bounds of Ascalon, towards the east," possibly the present ruin of *Erzeh*.

9. *Betheked.*—In the account of the journey of Jehu from Jesreel to Samaria (2 Kings x. 12), we find mention of the "shearing house in the way," where he met and slew the forty-two brethren of Ahaziah.

Eusebius takes the words Beth Eked (בית עקד) to be the name of a town, and places it 15 miles from Legio, in the great plain. This brings us to the position of the present *Beit Kad*, on the edge of the plain of Esdraelon, near Gilboa. It is not, however, in the direct route to Samaria. The Arabic name *Kad* does not, however, at all represent the Hebrew Eked; the biblical site is more probably represented by the present 'Akâdeh on the west side of the great plain.

In this connection I may notice one or two of the places in the preceding chapter. 2 Kings ix. 27.

"He fled by the way of the garden house (Jenín), and Jehu followed after him, and said, Smite him also in the chariot . . . at the going up to Gur, which is by Ibleam, and he fled to Megiddo."

The position of Gur between Ibleam (which Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake identifies with *Bel'ameh*, near Jenin) and Megiddo (*Lejjun*) points to *Kefr Kud* as the site of Gur. The similarity of D and R in both Aramaic and square Hebrew results in continual transpositions as supposed in this case.

The present paper upon these scattered topographical notices will be found to contain over thirty suggested identifications, all of which I believe to be new.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

LIST OF THE MORE IMPORTANT PROPOSED IDENTIFICATIONS.

'Ainim	=	'Allín.
Anuath	=	'Ainah.
Borceos	=	Brúkín.
Baal Shalisha	=	Serísia.
Kefr 'Aútni	=	Kefr Adhán.
Bezek	=	Bezík.
Netopha	=	Metoba.
Garob	=	Gharabeh.
Kefr Aziz	=	Khirbet Aziz.
Yajúr	=	El Júrah.
Choba	=	El Mekhobbi.
Ceperaria	=	El Kefr.
Betoænea	=	'Anín.
Fathoura	=	Fert.
Betariph	=	Deir Tarif.
Gur	=	Kefr Kud.

THE FIRST TRAVELLER IN PALESTINE.

1. Hieratic Papyrus. Facsimile folio, 1842, pl. 35—61. British Museum.
2. Translation by C. W. Goodwin, "Cambridge Essays," 1853, p. 267—269.
3. "Voyage d'un Egyptien en Syrie en Phenicie en Palestine," &c. F. Chabas. Paris, 1866.
4. "Records of the Past," vol. ii., p. 107—116. London, 1875.

THE history of the interesting document, which it is proposed to examine as far as regards the topography connected with Palestine, may be briefly given as follows. It formed part of a collection made by M. Anastasi, Swedish Consul in Egypt. It was examined by Lepsius in 1838, and bought by the British Museum, and published by them in facsimile in 1842. It consists of twenty-eight pages of fine hieratic writing, and by the character of the letters Egyptologists refer it to the 19th or 20th dynasty. By other arguments it is more exactly limited as to date, and assigned the 14th century B.C., and dates therefore, according to the ordinary chronology, about the time of the oppression of Israel under Jabin, king of Canaan. Its great interest consists in the enumeration of no fewer than 56 places, of which 18 are north of Tyre, and the remaining 38 are in Palestine proper. This gives us a topography which it is important to compare with the history of contemporary events to be found in the Book of Judges, as well as with the lists of the Book of Joshua referring to the same part of Palestine.

The Papyrus gives an account of the travels of an Egyptian officer called a Mohar, a man evidently of importance, journeying in a chariot drawn by horses, and accompanied by a servant. It is not clear what his official duty may have been, but his journey commences near Aleppo, and he visits a certain town, which, as will appear later, must have been on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, and which formed a rendezvous with other Mohars. Thence he returns to Egypt *viâ* Joppa.

There is much in the Papyrus that is very interesting and amusing, but quite unconnected with the topography. Those who wish to see how unchanged the character of a journey in Syria is since the time of this, the earliest visitor to the country of whom we have any record, and how much life and even humour is to be found in a papyrus 2500 years old, should read the text for themselves in the "Records of the Past." The present paper will be confined to the question of the topography referring to Palestine proper and to a comparison with that of the Old Testament.

I.

The first and second sections contain eighteen names, of which eight are identified by M. Chabas as follows:—

1. Kheta, a tribal name = the northern Hittites (Josh. i. 4).
2. Khaleb = Aleppo, the modern Haleb.
3. Kodesh = Kedesh on the Orontes.

4. Kabaon = Gebal, the modern Jebeil.
5. Berytus = Beirut.
6. Sidon = Saida.
7. Sarepta = Sarafend.
8. Tyre = Sur.

It is sufficiently evident from these identifications that the whole list refers probably to towns near the coast of Syria, and between Aleppo and Tyre; we need, therefore, devote no more space to this group, as the unknown towns all apparently lie north of Beirut. It is important, however, to observe that the order of occurrence shows a systematic progress southward by the coast road, where a chariot could be driven with safety.

II.

The third section of the Papyrus is of sufficient importance to be quoted:—

PAGE LINE

21 . 3 The entrance of Djaraou, and the order thou hast given to set this city in flames. A Mohar's office is a very painful one.
21 . 4 Come, set off to return to Pakaïkna. Where is the road of Aksaph?
21 . 5 In the environs of the city; come then to the mountain of Ousor: its top,
21 . 6 how is it? Where is the mountain of Ikama? Who can master it? What way has the Mohar
21 . 7 gone to Hazor? How about its ford? let me go to Hamath,
21 . 8 to Takar, to Takar-Aar, the all-assembling place of the Mohars; come
22 . 1 then, on the road that leads there. Make me to see Jah. How has one got to Matamim?

This curious description seems to refer to a journey from Tyre to Tarkaal, including a notice of ten places, of which M. Chabas only identifies two with any degree of certainty. It will be best to notice each site in the order of occurrence.

1. *Djaraou.* An alternative reading is Tsaraou.—This town seems to have been somewhat out of the line of the traveller's march, since we find him *returning* from it to the next. It seems to be near Tyre, and if we accept M. Chabas' identification of the next site, Tsaraou should be near the town of Kana. This would lead us to suppose an identity with the ruin of El Mezra'ah, a spot which will be found marked on Murray's new map, about three miles east of Kanah. The change is a very simple one, in accordance with the ordinary laws of the survival in Arabic of ancient names. *Zera'a*, or Tseraah, would mean "sowing," and the servile letter *mim* may be supposed to have been added, making Me-Zera'a, or "place of sowing." The road from Tyre to El Mezra'ah passes through Kana,

and thus the Mohar if intending, as seems most probable, to follow the coast, would naturally "return to Pakaïkna."

It is important here to note that the Mohar is travelling in a chariot. In the Bible we find contemporary record of "chariots of iron," but it seems clear that these chariots were used only in the plains. In our Papyrus it will be found that the Mohar's chariot is broken as soon as he attempts to pass down a difficult ravine (p. 23, line 3); previously we have no account of any great difficulties, excepting in the case of two mountains mentioned in the present section. It is, therefore, *primâ facie*, most probable that the route should be traced across open country, avoiding as much as possible the rugged hills and deep ravines.

2. *Pakaïkna*, or, taking the alternative reading, *Pakanana*.—This, as M. Chabas suggests, may be identified with Kanah the Great, "an ancient town whose ruins may be seen two hours and a half south-east of Tyre. It was here that M. Renan found the finest of the Tyrian sepulchres. Near Kana is the Egyptian bas-relief of Wady 'Ashûr. This is, however, only hypothetical" (Chabas' Memoir, p. 179). The position, it will be seen above, fits well with the general topography, as a road leads through Kana to El Mezra'ah, and again from Kana to the main line along the coast.

3. *Aksaph*.—The Hieratic Aksapou M. Chabas supposes to be the Achshaph of Joshua (xii. and xix.), a town occurring in the list of Asher. Dr. Robinson has proposed to identify it with the present *El Kesaf*, but the objection to this position is very strong. The territory of Asher is defined by Josephus as "that part which was called *the valley*, for such it was, and all that part which lay over against Sidon. The city Arce belonged to their share, which is also named Actippus" (Achzib), *Ant.* v. 1. 22.

It is pretty evident in this case that *El Kesaf*, situate in the hills above the sources of the Jordan, and thus within the limits of the tribe of Naphtali, cannot represent a town of Asher, which must be sought in the *valley* or *Shephelah*, the low country bordering the maritime plain, and probably not far south of Achzib, the modern *El Zib*. The list of the towns of Asher in this part includes the names of the following towns (Josh. xix. 25), which may be identified as below.

1. Helkath = Yerkush—Schwartz.
2. Hali = 'Alia—Vandevelde.
3. Beten = Bethbeten—Onomasticon.
4. Achshaph = Yasif—C.R.C.

The towns thus enumerated occur in regular order, in accordance with the proposed canon of identification published in the *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1875. It is unnecessary to go into the question of the south boundary of Asher, because these places are well within the limits of the tribe. El Yasif is a town on the very edge of the plain, south-east of El Zib, and the name corresponds exactly to the LXX. translation Αξιφ.

The towns of Asher appear to be enumerated in order; those on the east first, going southwards, and afterwards those on the west going north. If, therefore, the Egyptian be supposed to visit the Achshaph of the Old Testament—a place of importance and a royal city—he will be found to have followed the coast road from Tyre almost to Akka, which is very practicable for a chariot, whilst the line from Tyre to El Kesaf is intersected by several very considerable water-courses, and runs over very hilly country.

4, 5. *Mount Ousor and Mount Ikama.*—It is not clear whether the phrase "in the environs of the city" is an answer to the question, "Where is the road?" or whether it defines the position of the two names following it. Achshaph is much nearer to the next place, Hazor, than to Tyre or Kanah, hence we should expect names to occur along the road, just as subsequently (p. 22, line 1) we find places mentioned out of order. M. Chabas compares Ousor with Asher, the tribe in whose territory the traveller is journeying. As noticed above, a Wady Ashûr exists close to Kana, and another Wady 'Azziyeh is to be found close to the great promontory of Ras el Abiad.

It is worthy of remark that in the journey from Tyre to Achshaph the traveller passes over two promontories, the only places where any difficulty occurs in the road, one being the *Ras el 'Abiad*, the second the *Ras el Nakura*, or Ladder of Tyre. The word translated "top," referring to Mount Ousor, is compared by M. Chabas with the form ראש (*Ras*), being identical with the Arabic *Ras* or *promontory*, as above. It is, therefore, quite possible that the document here describes the difficulties experienced by the traveller in passing round these two important headlands.

6. *Hazor.*—The name Hazor, meaning in Hebrew "an enclosure," is of very common occurrence throughout Palestine. Two Hazors at least are mentioned as occurring in Galilee in the time of Joshua, and three Hazors are to be found in this district to the present day.

The first of these is a Hazor close to *Tell el Kadi* the modern representative of Dan, at the main source of Jordan. This seems at first a likely identification, as a ford of Jordan exists near. It would agree with the position given by Robinson for El Kesaf if identified with Aksapou; but to this there is the objection that the Mohar visits the west and not the east coast of the Sea of Galilee, and that it would have been extremely difficult to proceed from Tyre to El Kesaf, or thence to Tiberias.

The second Hazor is the En Hazor of Josh. xix. 37, a site identified with Hazzur or Hazzireh, close to Wady el Ayyun, and occurring in the lists in its proper order between towns in the same district also identified. There can scarcely, however, be any connection between this and the Hazor of the Egyptian.

Of the position of the Royal Hazor, the seat of King Jabin in the time of Joshua, and of another Jabin, king of Canaan, at the very time of this Egyptian journey, we have no definite indication in the Bible.

It is said by Josephus to have stood above the waters of Merom, and is therefore generally identified with the present *Tell Hurrawiyeh*, east of Kadesh.

It seems probable that the Hazor of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 36) mentioned in connection with Ramah (Er Rameh) and Kedesh (Kedes) is the same place, for otherwise the royal city would not appear at all in the lists; but in spite of the word used by Josephus there seems some ground for supposing that this royal city is the present *'Ain Hazzur*, a spring, and a ruin of importance existing near *Er Rameh*, the supposed site of Ramah of Naphtali; for not only does the name occur next in the list to that of Ramah, but Jabin is called King of Canaan, or the "low lands," which seems a title scarcely applicable to the country near Kedesh. On the other hand, Sisera, captain of Jabin's army, is found flying to the immediate neighbourhood of Kedesh after his defeat by Barak.

Whichever be the site of the Royal Hazor, there can be but little doubt that *'Ain Hazzur* represents the Hazor of the Egyptian Mohar, for if the position of Achshaph and its identity with Aksapou be admitted, this place lies on the road which he would naturally have followed in going from the maritime plain to the shores of the Sea of Galilee.

An important valley starts near this spring, and the main road from Akka, down the plain of Ramah, passes north of it. Thus, without crossing any mountain ridge, the Mohar is able to drive from the western plain to Hazor, but here he is obliged to cross the watercourse of the main Wady, as we may understand him to mean when speaking of the "ford" of Hazor.

7. *Hamath.*—M. Chabas himself is inclined to identify this with the fenced city Hammath of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 35) which we learn from the Talmudists was near Tiberias. The fact that the next places are to be found in the Jordan valley would seem almost decisive on the question.

8, 9. *Jah* . . and *Matamim.*—The Papyrus is here defective. North of the valley by which the Mohar would seem to have descended to Hammath is the present Yakúk, the representative of the Biblical Hukkok, the Ικωκ of the LXX. It is possible that this may represent the fragmentary word *Ia*, a place evidently between Hazor and Hamath. Metamim is a word which would seem to refer to water—compare the Hebrew מים (Mím) "waters." It may refer to the springs of the plain of Genesareth or to the waters of the lake itself.

10. The phrase "to Takar (or Tarka) to Takar Aar (or Tarkaal)" may be supposed to refer to one place, as the *al* is probably the Hebrew *el*, "God," so often attached to the names of places, as *Jabneel*, *Eshtaol*, &c. M. Chabas identifies it with the Tarichæa of Josephus, a place thirty stadia south of Tiberias (Vita, § 32) which is identified by Major Wilson, R.E., with the ruin of Kerak, at the point where the Jordan leaves the Sea of Galilee. This agrees well with the subsequent narrative.

III.

The fourth section of the Papyrus describes a group of towns, not apparently in the main direction of the journey, though evidently visited by the Mohar. It runs as follows :—

PAGE LINE

22 . 3 I will speak to thee of the towns other than the preceding ones. Wentest thou not to the land of Takhis, to Cofer-Marlon, to Tamena,

22 . 4 to Qodesh, to Dapour, to Adjai, and to Harnemata? Hast thou not seen Keriath-Anab, near to

22 . 5 Beith-Tuphar? Knowest thou not Odulam and Tsidphoth? Knowest thou not the name of

22 . 6 Khaouretsa, which is in the land of Aup?

These places, with exception of the last, would seem to be in the land of Takhis. This district should probably be sought in Galilee, for in another papyrus we find it mentioned with the tribes of the Amaour (the northern Amorites), the Kheta (the northern Hittites), and Ars (supposed to be Asher). M. Chabas proposes identifications with places scattered all over Palestine, many being in parts where a chariot could scarcely have penetrated. It will appear, however, that the majority at least can be found in Upper Galilee, in the neighbourhood of Kedesh, and in the very part of Palestine where, if we credit Josephus, the chariots of Jabin assembled.

The number of names is ten, none of which are identified with any degree of certainty by M. Chabas. They may be discussed in turn as follows :—

11. *Cofer-Marlon*, or *Cofer-Maron*.—The R and L appear to be indistinguishable in the hieratic character. Two places of similar name are mentioned in the Old Testament, both royal cities—1st, Shimron Meron, or "the watch-tower of Meron;" and 2nd, Maron, the Μαρων of the LXX., which is written Madon in the English version (Josh. xi. 1). Both of these are noticed in later Jewish writings, and both still exist, the former being apparently *Meirún*, a place famous in Talmudic times; the latter Márún, near Kedesh. It would seem probable that the Maron of the Mohar is this Marún, the Cofer being the representative of the Aramaic Caphar or Arabic Kefr, "a village."

It is curious to remark that Maron and Achshaph with the town of Shimron (not apparently Shimron Meron, but another, now *Summúnieh* farther south, and lying out of the Mohar's route) were the royal towns to whose kings Jabin of Hazor sent messages in the time of Joshua (Josh. xi. 1). It would seem, therefore, that a league of some kind existed among these tribes, and it is not impossible that the Amorites and Canaanites in the time of Sisera were allied to Egypt against the children of Israel—an explanation fully agreeing with the subsequent narrative, when the Mohar appears to enter a hostile country on leaving Galilee and approaching the land of Manasseh.

12. *Tamena*.—Two towns of similar name are to be found in the south of Palestine: 1st, Timnah of Samson, a town of Judah (Josh.

xv. 10), now *Tibneh;* 2nd, Timnath, the town selected by Joshua (Josh. xix. 50), now *Tibneh*, in Mount Ephraim. The present Timnath is, however, more probably one mentioned in the Talmud as existing in Galilee, and from its connection with Maron and Kedesh it may be identified with *Tibnin*, the Crusading Toron, about ten miles north-west of Kedesh.

13. *Qodesh* is apparently Kadesh of Naphtali, a place often mentioned in the Bible. M. Chabas hesitates between this and several other Biblical towns of the same name; all, however, very far from the previous scene of the Mohar's wanderings.

14. *Dapour, Dapul,* or *Dubl.*—The L and R being indistinguishable. This name does not appear to represent any Scriptural place. There is, however, in the district visited by the Mohar, a site of some importance called in modern Arabic *Dibl*, which may possibly represent the place in question.

15. *Adjai* or *Atai.*—Not far from the site just noticed are ruins and a spring, to which the name of *'Ata* is now given; these two identifications seem to agree well together. *Ata* is about four miles west of Kedesh, and *Dibl* six miles farther west.

16. *Harnemata.*—This, if a Hebrew word, would mean "Mountain of Nemmata," a place apparently not mentioned in the Bible. If, however, the next identification of Beth Anath with Keriath Anab be accepted, it must be noticed that a town called Horem precedes Beth Anath in the list of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 38), just as Harnemata precedes Kariath Anab in the Mohar's list. Possibly, then, Harnemata may be a lengthened form of Horem (the modern *Hurah*, as identified by Vandevelde).

17. *Keriath Anab.*—The three names on the list now following Keriath Anab, Odulam or Adúram, and Beith Tuphal or B. Tuphar, naturally suggest the three towns in Judah—Kirjath Jearim, Adullam, and Beth Tappuah; but it is remarkable that these names all recur in the north of Palestine, as does that of Bethlehem, and possibly that of Hebron. M. Chabas proposes to identify Kariath Anab with the modern Kariet el 'Anab, often called Abu Ghosh. This is, however, probably a modern name. The real title, as we have often remarked, of Abu Ghosh, is simply *Kariet*, and it seems to represent the Kirjath of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 28). In the north of Palestine we find a *Beth Anath*, mentioned in the list of the towns of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 38) as follows :—

Migdal el	=	Mujeidel, Robinson.
Horem	=	Húrah, Vandevelde.
Bethanath	=	Hánin, C. R. C.

Beth Anath is the Beth Ana of the Talmud, and the last mentioned but one of the towns of Naphtali in a list beginning apparently in the south, and going northwards to the district of Kadesh.

Keriath Anab is defined as being near Beith Tuphal. It is curious to remark that *Hanin* is close to the Dibl, which it is proposed to identify with the Dupul of the Mohar; whether Beith Tuphal be the same place

recurring is of course doubtful, but if so, it would give a reason for the definition, and serve to identify the Kariath Anab of the Egyptian with the Beth Anath of Joshua.

18. *Odulam* or *Aduram*, M. Chabas proposes to be either Adullam or Adoraim, in the tribe of Judah. There is another Adullam in the north, the present 'Adlún, the site of the Greek town of Ornithon. If, however, the land of Takhis be circumscribed to the hill district of Kedesh, Aduram may very well be supposed identical with the Edrei (אדרעי) of Naphtali, the Εδραιν of the LXX. This site occurring between Kedesh and En Hazor (Hazzur), may possibly be placed at the modern 'Aitherún, some three miles west of Kadesh Naphtali. Thus the whole number of sites in this list is brought into a district of about 150 square miles.

19. *Tsidphoth.*—Supposing the former identifications to correctly represent the district visited by the Mohar, this town falls into place as the Tsephath of the Talmud and Seph of Josephus, the modern important town of Safed. This identification is hinted by M. Chabas, though he discards it in consequence of identifying the three preceding places with towns in the south of Palestine.

20. *Khaouretsa.*—This town, evidently a fortress of importance, was in the land of Aup. The meaning of Aup is not exactly known. It occurs again in the first section of the Papyrus, and is supposed by M. Chabas to refer to a district near the Lebanon and the country of the Kheta. M. Chabas proposes to identify Khaouretsa with Harosheth of the Gentiles (Judges iv. 2), the home of Sisera, captain of Jabin's host. There is as yet no satisfactory identification of this place, which is not mentioned in any other passage in the Bible. It has been placed at the present village of *El Harathiyeh*, but there seems no reason for this beyond a certain similarity of name, and it is far more probable that Harosheth is to be sought in the neighbourhood of Kadesh and Safed, which would agree with the mention of Khaouretsa—if the same—in this part of the narrative.

The towns of this section are thus supposed to represent the principal places in the tribe of Naphtali, with the addition of three not mentioned in any Jewish writings.

IV.

The narrative at this point would seem to take up the continuation of the Mohar's journey from the rendezvous of Tarkaal (Tarichæa), and runs as follows:—

PAGE LINE.

22 . 7 Come then to the image of SINA: let me know RO-

22 . 8 HOB: represent to me BEITH-SHEAL as well as KERIATHAAL. The fords of the

23 . 1 Jordan, how does one cross them? let me know the passage to enter Mageddo, whereof it remains to speak. Thou art a Mohar,

23 . 2 expert in courageous deeds. Is there found a Mohar like thee to march at the head of the soldiers, a Marina

PAGE LINE

23 . 3 superior to thee to shoot an arrow! Take care of the gulf in the ravine two thousand cubits deep; full of rocks and rolling stones.

23 . 4 Thou makest a *détour:*

The rest of the section describes the flight of the Mohar, his difficulties in a descent "full of rocks and rolling stones, no practicable passage; the road is obstructed by hollies, Indian fig, aloes, and bushes called jackal's shoes. On one side is the precipice, on the other rises the vertical wall of the mountain (p. 24, lines 2 and 3).

In this descent the horses become frightened and run away, the chariot-pole is broken; and the Mohar impeded by thorny bushes, with the enemy behind, tortured by thirst and heat, is reduced almost to despair. He reaches, however, Joppa (p. 25, line 2), where his chariot is repaired.

There is but little difficulty attending the topography of this section.

21. The *Image of Sina.*—It would seem to apply to some place in the Jordan valley.

22. *Rohob.*—From the context this is evidently the town of Rehob, near Bethshean. This is mentioned under the form Ροωβ in the Onomasticon, and placed by Jerome four miles south of Scythopolis (Beisan). This is the exact distance of the ruins called now *Sheikh el Rehâb*, to which site the Mohar evidently refers.

23. *Beithsheal.*—M. Chabas himself identifies this with the town of Bethshean, one of the separate cities of Ephraim (Josh. xvii. 11), an important site, with many Roman ruins, now known as Beisan.

24. *Keriathaal.*—This name strongly suggests the Hebrew Kariathel, "City of God." It may perhaps be the representative of Izra-el, or Jesreel, "the sown of God," or "field of God." The town of Jesreel would be passed by the Mohar in going to Megiddo.

25. *The fords of the Jordan, Jelden* (or *Jerden*).—M. Chabas proposes the identification of this river with the Jordan, but to this there is the objection that the Mohar's journey is directed away from the river, and that there is nothing to lead us to suppose he ever crossed it. In going from Tiberias to Beisan, or immediately after, he would, however, be obliged to cross one of the principal affluents of Jordan, now called *Wady Jalûd*, which, rising at the Well Harod (*Ain Jalûd*), brings a considerable stream down the broad valley from near Jesreel to the neighbourhood of Beisan. It is perhaps to this (the L and R being so difficult to distinguish) that the Mohar here refers.

26. *Mageddo.*—The "passage" to this town is no doubt the broad valley leading up to the plain of Esdraelon, in which Megiddo stood. The town is identified by M. Chabas himself.

The traveller is here warned of the precipitous character of the valleys, apparently those leading down to the maritime plain. He is directed to make a detour, and from this we may gather his general route. For, passing southwards to Engannim (Jenín), he would arrive on the road by which the Midianites, in the time of Joseph, descended

to Egypt, passing by Dothan (Gen. xxxvii. 17). Advancing along the plain of Rameh, he would arrive at a short but difficult defile called Wady Mussín, probably that in which his chariot is broken, and here emerging into the plain of Sharon, he would be on the main road to Joppa, and only twenty-five miles from it.

At Joppa he finds workmen capable of mending his chariot. It would appear that here he enters a country subject to the Egyptians, or at least containing places named after Egyptian kings.

V.

The following list of eleven places is referred by M. Chabas to the neighbourhood of the Sinaitic peninsula. As, however, the last three on the list are identified by M. Chabas with Rehoboth, Raphia, and Gaza, it would seem more likely that the journey is here continued through Philistia from Joppa to the Egyptian frontier. The 5th Section runs as follows:—

PAGE LINE

27 . 2 Come let me tell all that happened to thee at the end of thy road. I begin

27 . 3 for thee at the dwelling of SESTSOU (RAMSES): hast thou not forced thy way therein. Hast thou not eaten fishes of . . . . ?

27 . 4 Hast thou not bathed therein? O come, let us describe Atsion to thee: where is its fortress?

27 . 5 Come to the house of OUATI; to Sestsou-em-paif-nakhtou-ousormara; to Sats . . . aal,*

27 . 6 also to Aksakaba? I have pictured to you Aïnini. Knowest thou not its customs? Nekhai,

27 . 7 and Rehobroth, hast thou not seen them since thy birth, O eminent Mohar? Raphia,

27 . 8 how about its entrenchment? It covers the space of an *aour* going towards Gaza.

The topography of this section is perhaps more doubtful than of the remainder, but it is controlled by the starting-point and destination. The Mohar would seem to follow the road branching off to the left from the main line to Egypt and passing along the foot of the Judæan hills towards Rehoboth, in the Negeb or "Dry Land." Thence by the long water-course called in Scripture the River of Egypt, he returns to Raphia on the sea-coast without passing through Gaza. Here on the borders of Egypt his adventures terminate with his return to his native country.

28. *Dwelling of Sestsou.*—Failing the Semitic name of this place it seems impossible to identify this fortress, which was probably near Joppa, with any known site.

29. The name of the river is unfortunately lost, but we have the two valuable indications of its containing sufficient water to bathe in and

* *Sestsou-em-païf-nakhtou Ousormara* is the name of a fortress built by Ramses II., in Syria or Palestina and different from Ouati. The name means: "Ramses II. in his victories."

also fish. These two points indicate pretty clearly the Nahr Rubín, the only real stream south of Jaffa—a winding, reedy river, which formed the boundary line of the tribe of Judah. Fish are caught in it near the mouth, and the road from Jaffa to Egypt crosses it. If the sequence of the narrative be taken as correct, there can be but little doubt as to this identification.

30. *Atsion.*—This name, applying apparently to a fortress, is compared by M. Chabas with the Hebrew (עצין) Etsion. It is mentioned in immediate connection with a temple and with another fortress. If the temple be sought at Ashdod, as proposed below, Atsion may be identified with Tell Yasín, an important point immediately south of Ashdod.

31. *The House of Ouati.*—M. Chabas himself shows that this refers, in all probability, to a temple dedicated to a goddess. The name Ouati resembles that of the well-known Oannes, a fish divinity. We are at once reminded of Ashdod, originally the centre of worship of the fish god Dagon and the fish goddess Derceto. The latter deity was in later times worshipped at Ascalon, but the Mohar's route would hardly seem to have brought him into the neighbourhood of that city.

32. *Ousormara.*—A town of Hazor, now *Yasur*, exists immediately east of Ashdod; another similar name, Asor, is noticed in the Onomasticon as that of a place situate east of Ascalon. It would appear to be represented by the present ruin of *Erzeh*.

33. *Sats . . . aal*, or *Saj . . ar.*—In the mutilated condition of the MS. it is impossible to identify this place with certainty. A site called anciently Saphir, and now *Suafir*, is to be found in the neighbourhood of Ashdod, on the road which the Mohar is here supposed to have taken.

34. *Aksakaba.*—We have apparently several instances of reduplication in the names given by the Mohar, as *Kanana* for Kana, and *Rehobroth* for Rehoboth. *Harnemata* for Horem I have before supposed to be a similar case, and indeed the apparent accuracy of the Semitic nomenclature as given by the Mohar is surprising. Mistakes of a far graver kind than the mere confusion of syllables would be to be expected in such a document. There is therefore, perhaps, but little objection to the identification of Aksakaba with the important spring of 'Ain Kasába, which lies on the main road to Rehoboth from the neighbourhood of Ashdod.

35. *'Aïnini* or *Ain Nini.*—A place called *'Ain Nini* exists farther north, at the edge of the Philistine plain. The district in which the preceding and following places are probably to be found does not, according to existing maps, contain any names of similar sound. The Ordnance Survey of this part has, however, still to be completed.

36. *Nekhai.*—Considering the continually occurring interchange of N and L, there is probably little objection to the identification of this place with the important ruined site called *Lekiyeh*, which stands just on the edge of the Philistine plain, and near the main road by which the Mohar is supposed to be travelling.

37. *Rehobroth.*—This M. Chabas himself identifies with the Rehoboth

of Isaac (Gen. xxxvi. 22), a site lately identified as existing some sixteen miles south of Beersheba at the head of the great *Wady Refah*—the boundary of Egypt and Palestine from the time of Joshua to the present day. The present name of the site of Rehoboth is *Er Ruheibeh*, and it lies on the same road pursued by the Mohar if visiting 'Ain Kasaba and Lekiyeh.

Raphia.—This site, an important town forming the south boundary of Palestine, and very often mentioned by Josephus, is identified by M. Chabas with the last place mentioned by the Mohar. From Rehoboth he would have followed the course of W. Refah, probably the "River of Egypt" (Josh. xv. 4). Thus he would not have passed through Gaza, which he mentions, however, as not far off. Raphia has been long identified with the modern frontier village of *Refah*.

VI.

We have thus succeeded in tracing the Mohar on his travels throughout the entire length of Palestine on a theory which seems to have two great recommendations:—

1st. That the route lies in plains or broad valleys where a chariot could be driven (and where, according to the Bible and Josephus, chariots were used) except in the striking instance of a narrow valley specially noticed in the MS.

2nd. That the places occur in a regular order of succession, the only detour being that into the land of Takhis, when the section is headed with the suggestive passage, "I will speak to thee of towns *other than* the preceding." Although some of the identifications may be doubtful, there are, I would suggest, a sufficient number which can hardly be disputed, and which show the general scheme of the journey to be correctly understood. Thus, with the following properly fixed, namely, Tyre, Aksaph, Hamath, Takar-Aar, Rehob, Beithsheal, Mageddo, Joppa, Aksakaba, Rehobroth, and Raphia, the general course of the journey is clear. The majority of these are suggested by M. Chabas, but he only identifies five with any amount of certainty out of eleven. Again, Qodesh, Marlon, Tamena, and Tsidphoth, are sufficient to point out the position of the Land of Takhis. M. Chabas does not, however, identify any of these with decision.

VII.

It remains to compare this topography with that of the books of Joshua and Judges. The following are the places apparently identical with Scriptural sites:—

1. Sidon	Great Sidon	Josh. xi. 8.
2. Sarepta	Zarephath	1 Kings xvii. 9.
3. Tyre	Tyre	Josh. xix. 29.
4. Kanana	Kanah	Josh. xix. 28.
5. Aksaph	Achshaph (Royal city)	Josh. xix. 25.
6. Hamath	Hammath	Josh. xix. 35.
7. Maron	Maron (Royal city)	Josh. xi. 1.

8. Qodesh	Kadesh Naphtali (Royal city)	Josh. xii. 22.
9. Keriath Anab	Beth Anath	Josh. xix. 38.
10. Aduram	Edrein	Josh. xix. 37.
11. Khaouretsa	Harosheth	Judg. iv. 2.
12. Harnemata	Horem	Josh. xix. 38.
13. Beithsheal	Bethshean	Josh. xvii. 11.
14. Keriathaal	Jesreel	Josh. xix. 18.
15. Mageddo	Megiddo (Royal city)	Josh. xii. 21.
16. Joppa	Joppa	Josh. xix. 46.
17. Rehobroth	Rehoboth	Gen. xxvi. 22.
18. Gaza	Gaza (Royal city)	Josh. xv. 47.

It appears, therefore, that nearly half the places mentioned by the Mohar are places which were of sufficient importance to be mentioned in the topographical lists of the Book of Joshua, or to have played a part in the history of the deliverance by Barak. Megiddo, Kedesh, and Harosheth, which appear in the Biblical account of this deliverance, are also mentioned in the Papyrus, whilst Tabor, the Kishon, Meroz, and Taanach, which are not mentioned by the Mohar, are known to have lain out of his route. The omissions are thus as striking as the places noted.

A list of so many Biblical sites, noticed by a contemporary witness so entirely independent, cannot fail to be very interesting to Biblical students.

Dec. 27, 1875. CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

TABLE OF PLACES.

Egyptian name.		Suggested identifications.
1. Djaraou.....	....	El Mezrah, C.R.C.
2. Kanana.....	(i.) Kanah (Josh xix. 28)	Khirbet Kana, Ch.
3. Aksaph.....	(ii.) Achshaph (Josh xii. 20)*...	El Yasif, C.R.C.
4. Mt. Ousor ...		
5. Mt. Ikama ...		
6. Hazor	....	'Ain Hazzur, C.R.C.
7. Hamath ...	(iii.) Hammath (Josh. xix. 35)...	Hammam Tubariyeh, Ch.
8. Takar-Aar ...	Tarichæa (Vita, Jos. § 32)...	Kerak, Ch.
9. Jah	Hukok (Josh. xix. 34) ? ...	Yakûk, C.R.C.
10. Matamim.....		
11. Cofer-Marlon	(iv.) Maron (Josh. xi. 1)*	Mârûn, C.R.C.
12. Tamena ...	....	Tibnin, C.R.C.
13. Qodesh.....	(v.) Kedesh (Josh. xii. 22)* ...	Kedes, Ch.
14. Dapeu...	....	Dâbl, C.R.C.
15. Ajai	....	'Ain Ata, C.R.C.
16. Harnemata ...	(vi.) Horem (Josh. xix. 38) ...	Hûrah, C.R.C.
17. Keriath Anab	(vii.) Beth Anath (Josh. xix. 38)	Hanîn, C.R.C.
18. Aduram	(viii.) Edre (Josh. xix. 37).....	Aitherûn, C.R.C.
19. Tsidphoth ...	Tsephath (Talmud)	Safed, C.R.C.
20. Khaouretsa ...	(ix.) Harosheth (Judg. iv. 2)	

* The star represents Royal cities.

21.	Image of Sina		
22.	Rohob	Roob (Onom).....	Sheikh Rehâb, C.R.C.
23.	Beithsheal ...	(x.) Bethshean (Josh. xvii 11).	Beisan, Ch.
24.	Keriathaal ...	(xi.) Jezreel (Josh xix. 18)	Zerín, C.R.C.
25.	Fords of Jordan or Jelden.....		W. Jalud, C.R.C.
26.	Mageddo	(xii.) Megiddo (Josh. xii. 21)*	Lejjún, Ch.
27.	Joppa	(xiii.) Joppa (Josh. xix. 46) ...	Yafa, Ch.
28.	Dwelling of Sestsou		
29.	River	.....	Nahr Rubin, C.R.C.
30.	Atsion	.....	Tell Yasín, C.R.C.
31.	Ousormara ...	.....	Yasur, C.R.C.
32.	Sats . . aal...		
33.	Aksakaba ...	..... 'Ain	Kasaba, C.R.C.
34.	'Ainini		
35.	Nekhai	....	Lekiyeh, C.R.C.
36.	Rehobroth ...	(xiv.) Rehoboth (Gen. xxvi. 22)	Ruheibeh, Ch.
37.	Raphia	Raphia (Josephus, Ant. xiii. 15. 4)	Rafah, Ch.
38.	Gaza	(xv.) Gaza (Josh. xv. 47)*.....	Ghuzzeh, Ch.

* The star represents Royal cities.

PALESTINE BEFORE JOSHUA, FROM THE RECORDS OF EGYPTIAN CONQUEST.

I.

A VERY important contribution to our knowledge of the topography of Palestine was made last autumn in the publication of the Geographical Lists of the Temple at Karnak by Auguste Mariette Bey.

The lists in question occur on the walls of the pylones of the temple lately excavated, and record the victories of King Thothmes III., in the countries of Upper Ruten, of Kush, and of Pun. The geographical names are inscribed in hieroglyphics on small tablets attached to the necks of figures representing captives from the various towns. The value of the list in the case of the Upper Ruten district is also greatly increased by the fact that it is thrice repeated on different parts of the building; thus Mariette Bey has been able to give variations unknown to M. Rougé in treating only of one list in his "Etude sur divers monuments du Regne de Thouthmés III.," published in the "Revue Archéologique," November, 1861, p. 346.

Other points which render these monuments of the highest value are at once apparent. In the hieroglyphic we have the original text as inscribed at that remote period by the hand probably of a contemporary historian, and unchanged by errors of the copyist or translator. By the separation of each name on a tablet hung to the captive's neck, we have a division made between each which obviates all chance of error in the cutting of one name into two, or the running of two names into one, which often causes so much confusion in the written Hebrew lists of the

Old Testament. The great antiquity of the list (for Thothmes III., according to the ordinary chronology, lived and fought before the conquest of Palestine) secures us the Ancient Canaanite nomenclature for comparison with that of the book of Joshua, and the great number of names in the list, 118 in all, makes the monument of real service for comparison with the Biblical topography. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the Egyptians were not a Semitic people, that their language, it would seem, was softer and less guttural than that of Canaan, and that the names, as represented in hieroglyphics, may in some cases therefore be more or less distorted, as they are at the present day, by English transliterators. Finally it is most natural to suppose that the list refers only to the part of Palestine actually conquered by Thothmes III., which may be to a great extent defined from other monuments.

It is only to a part of the lists that our attention will be given, the conquests in Kush and Pun having no relation to Palestine, and forming only about a third of the total number of names.

The title inscribed above the first copy of the list of Upper Ruten is thus translated by Mariette Bey.

"List of the princes of Upper Ruten whom his Majesty has shut into the miserable town of Megiddo, and from whom his Majesty has led living captives to the stronghold of Suhen at Thebes in his first victorious expedition, in obedience to the order of his father Ammon, who has guided him in the right way." This inscription, followed beneath by 115 geographical names in five lines, is to be found on the pylone numbered VI. by Mariette Bey.

The second copy is to be found on pylone No. VII., being a reproduction of the first with a few omissions. Over a group of captives about to be sacrificed is a short title, "Taken from the chiefs of Ruten, and of all the unknown peoples, and of all the lands of Fenekhu." The captives bearing descriptives tablets are preceded by a goddess having the following inscription :—

"Brought to thee (O Ammon) from all the unknown peoples, and from all the lands of Fenekhu gathered under thy sandals." The captives who follow are also surmounted by a title forming the third *descriptive* legend.

"All the unknown lands of the coasts of Sati, which his Majesty has brought as living captives."

On the walls of the same pylone is a third copy of the list, having four additional names, making 119 in all; the title is the same as that of the first copy on pylone VII., and the variations in the names are generally of little importance.

We have thus at the outset three distinct titles defining the position of these towns—viz., *Upper Ruten*, *Sati*, and *Fenekhu*. Further light may be obtained by the comparison of other Egyptian inscriptions.

The account of the great expedition of Thothmes III., in the 22nd year of his reign, including the victory of Megiddo and conquest of Upper Ruten, is to be found in another inscription at Karnak, on a wall,

near the cella erected by Philip II., or Aridæus. It is unfortunately fragmentary, but supplies much important topographical detail. It will be found translated by Dr. Birch in "Records of the Past." vol. ii. From this text it appears that Thothmes III. assembled his army "in the fortress of the land of Sharuana, commencing from Iuluta (or Iuruta)." He advanced against the rebel chiefs who were assembling at Megiddo, and arrived first at the fortress of Juhem. Various allies from Egypt and Naharaina (Mesopotamia—*Birch*), of the Khita (Chattai, or Northern Hittites), of the Kharu (Syrians), and Katu (also a Syrian tribe), accompanied the Egyptian army.

The advice of the generals appears to have been to advance by a road leading north by Jutta, or Geuta. This was, however, rejected by Thothmes, who preferred a route by "the land Aanaka" (probably the Anakim), leading by a difficult pass, and a fortress called Aaruna.

"I will go," he replies, "on this road of Aaruna if there is any going on it. Be ye on the roads of which ye speak."

The king proceeds accordingly to Aaruna, and a battle occurs in a valley in which the Egyptians are victorious, and immediately advance.

"It was the time of noon when his Majesty reached the south of Maketa, on the shores of the waters of Keneh."

On the following day the army is drawn out against Maketa, or Megiddo.

"The south horn . . was at the coast of Keneh, the northern wing extending to the north-west of Maketa," joining perhaps the allies, who advanced apparently by the northern road. The conquest of Megiddo follows, and then a long enumeration of the spoils and captives taken.

Among the tributary tribes enumerated in this inscription, are the inhabitants of Katesh (Kadesh), the Kharu (Syrians), the Shasu (also mentioned in the "Travels of an Egyptian," and apparently a Bedouin tribe), those of Aranatu (possibly the Biblical Iron), of Kanana, a fortress, probably that mentioned in the list to be discussed, and identical with Kanah of Asher (Josh. xix. 28), and finally the Kefau and the Rutennu chiefs. It is evident, therefore, that our triplicate list containing the districts of Rutennu and Fenekhu, with the towns of Kanah, Megiddo, and Kadesh, refers to the conquests made in this expedition of the 22nd year of Thothmes III., and it is therefore important to notice all that is known of the districts of *Ruten*, *Sati*, and *Fenekhu*, and of the towns of *Iuluta*, *Geuta*, *Aaruna*, and *Keneh*, in order to obtain a general idea of the part of Palestine in which the names of the triplicate list are to be sought.

Ruten.—It is clearly shown by Mariette-Bey, that Ruten, or Luten, in the triplicate list where it forms the name of a town, is the Biblical Lod, now *Lyd*. Hence he argues the probability that the district of *Rutennu* was near this town.

In the so-called "Statistical Tablet of Thothmes III.," also found at Thebes, *Katesh* is mentioned as a city of Rutennu. In the account of the battle of Megiddo, three fortresses are noticed as in the same district

—namely, *Anaukasa*, *Yanuma*, and *Hurankalu*. The Kadesh conquered by Thothmes is undoubtedly Kadesh Naphtali. The other three names unfortunately do not approach near enough to any biblical names to admit of identification. *Yanuma* may, however, be the modern Yanîn, which has strong claims to be considered identical with Han-Neiel, a boundary town of Asher (Josh. xix. 27).

Thus the Rutennu district includes apparently Upper Galilee, in which many of the towns taken by Thothmes lay, and it is possible that this is "Upper Ruten, or Luten," as distinguished from the country round Lydda, which may be supposed to be "Lower Ruten." It is perhaps worthy of remark that another *Lyd* or Lod exists in the plain of Esdraelon not far from Megiddo.

Sati.—Under this term Dr. Birch understands to be included "the eastern foreigners, or Arabians." The title occurs in the "Statistical Tablet of Thothmes III" in connection with Rutennu. In the account of the battle of Megiddo, Thothmes is mentioned as taking the title "Holder of the *plains* of Sati," but there is nothing to show the exact district to which this title referred.

Fenekhu.—There can be but little doubt that this name refers to the Phœnicians, and in the account of the battle of Megiddo the *Kefau* are also supposed to be Phœnician tributaries.

Iuluta.—This fortress is mentioned as in the land of Sharuana (no doubt the biblical Sharon), which seems to have been under Egyptian rule at the time of the Rutennu rebellion. Its position is not a matter of great importance. It may possibly be the Ilatu of the triplicate list which will be identified later on.

Geuta.—This fortress Dr. Birch proposes to identify with Gath, but the fact of its being on a road north of that leading through Aaruna (not far from Megiddo) would seem to place it farther north. It may very well be identified with the strong ruined site of *Jett*, on the borders of the plain of Sharon, some fourteen miles from Megiddo, and on the straight road to that town.

Juhem.—The position of this fortress is very doubtful; it would seem to have been near the division of the two roads to Megiddo, in which case it may possibly be the same as the biblical Jokmeam (1 Chron. vi. 68), a city of Ephraim given to the Levites. Jokmeam is not, however, at present identified.

Aaruna is identified by some authors with Aijalon, a city of Dan, but to this there is the objection that it would seem clear from the account of the "Battle of Megiddo" that Aaruna was within a day's journey of Maketa.

In the topographical list of Sheshonk (the Shishak of the Old Testament, see Bible Dictionary, p. 1290) a town called Aarana occurs immediately before the name of Bileam. Bileam was a town near En Gannim (now Jenin), and has been identified by the late Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake with the present ruin of *Bel'ameh*, a position fitting with the order in which the same name occurs in our triplicate list.

Thus Aarâna, which is very probably the Aarûna of Thothmes, is to

be sought in the neighbourhood of Jenin, and may be best identified with the strong and important village of 'Arrabeh, the change of *n* into *b* being of frequent occurrence in the Arabic survivals of Canaanite names. There is another site called 'Arâneh which would fit for Aarâna, but not for Aarûna.

Arrabeh stands on high ground west of Dothan, and south of the plain called Merj Arrabeh; it is close to the road by which the Midianites descended to Egypt from Dothan, and the gorge in which the first struggle took place would be that up which the road comes into the plain, the head of Wady Mussîn.

Keneh.—This would answer to the Hebrew גִּנָּה, *Genneh*, and Arabic *Jenneh*, "a garden." It was situate south of Maketa, and a stream of water existed at it. It was also not far from Aaruna, nor from Maketa. For these reasons it may very well be identified with the biblical En Gannim, or "Fountain of Gardens."

The deductions from the above arguments are simple. The plain of Sharon did not revolt. The advance of the Egyptians was directed against Megiddo. No towns are mentioned, nor do any details occur in the account of the campaign which would lead us to suppose that the more difficult hill country of Samaria or Judea was attacked. There is no account of the crossing of Jordan, or anything to point to the conquest of the country east of that river. The names are therefore to be sought along the line of the Egyptian advance in Upper and Lower Galilee and Phœnicia, or in the more open country bordering these districts, as well as in the plains of Sati, by which we may understand some district to the north-east of Egypt, such as the biblical Negeb, or "south country," would represent.

Before proceeding to the detail of the names, a few remarks as to the changes to be expected may be noted:—

1. *Pe*, the Egyptian article, is often prefixed to the name of an important town, and must not be considered an integral part of the Semitic word.

2. *Mar* is sometimes prefixed to names of places of the second rank, although it is not certain that any instance occurs in these lists.

3. *Na* is constantly added by the Egyptian scribe. An instance of the occurrence of this with the article is found in the "Travels of an Egyptian," where Pe-Kana-na represents the biblical Kanah.

4. *L* and *R* are letters indistinguishable in the hieroglyphic character used.

5. T, equivalent to the Hebrew ת, often stands also for D (ד). This is because the Egyptian language has apparently no D sound.

6. The gutturals of the Semitic names are often confused. This is not distinctive of Egyptian transliteration. The confusion of the various gutturals was a constant reproach against the Galileans, and the substitution of one Arabic guttural for another in Hebrew, of which it is not the exact equivalent, is generally recognised in many accepted identifications.

7. K often stands for G and J in the Hebrew.

These seven points are generally known to students, and only inserted here for the sake of clearness.

The lists which are to be considered contain 119 names. Of these Mariette Bey proposes identifications for 83 in all, leaving 36 as unknown. He does not, however, fix the exact position of many of these, and he supposes the list to include places as far north as Beyrout, and east of Jordan in Moab and Ammon, as well as in the hill country of Judæa. He divides the names into six groups. (1) In the plain of Sharon. (2) In the Hauran, east of Galilee. (3) In Galilee, Phœnicia, and east of Jordan. (4) In Moab and Ammon. (5) In Benjamin and Judah. (6) In the plain of Sharon, and the Negeb or Beersheba country.

The order of these groups is not consecutive, nor is that of the towns in each group as identified by him. It may further be urged that the districts are not apparently for the most part those through which the Egyptians advanced before and after the battle of Megiddo. Considering also that so large a list of places could scarcely have been written down from memory, it would seem most natural to suppose, as I have before urged in the topographical list of the book of Joshua, that some sort of consecutive order is to be expected.

The following twenty-eight identifications, which seem well established by Mariette Bey or by M. Rougé, agree with the theory of a consecutive list, and occur within the districts to which it would seem proper to confine our search. They may, therefore, be taken as the framework into which other identifications are to be fitted.

No.	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW.	
	1. Katesu.	Kadesh Naphtali.	1
	2. Maketa.	Megiddo.	2
	16. Hamut.	Hammath.	3
	21. Sarana.	Lasharon.	4
	23. Batna.	Beten.	5
	26. Kaana.	Kanah.	6
	27. Arana.	Iron.	7
	31. Lauza.	Laish.	8
	32. Hazara.	Hazor.	9
	34. Keneratu.	Chinnereth.	10
	39. Mashala.	Misheal.	11
	42. Taanak.	Taanach.	12
	43. Iblaamu.	Ibleam.	13
	52. Anuheru.	Anahareth.	14
	62. Iapu.	Joppa.	15
	64. Luten.	Lod.	16
	65. Aana.	Ono.	17
	66 Apuken.	Aphek.	18
	67. Suka.	Shochoh.	19
	69 Khabatza.	Chezib.	20
	80. Kerara.	Gerar.	21
	86. Ani.	Ain (Rouge).	22
	89. Hiklaim.	Eglon.	23
	94. Makerput.	Beth Markaboth.	24
	95. Aina.	Anim.	25
	96. Keraman.	Carmel.	26
	113. An Kenamu.	En Gannim.	27
	114. Kebâu.	Gibeah.	28

Of these twenty-eight identifications, nineteen have been fixed by former travellers at existing towns, or ruins of towns. The identifications may be divided into two groups. (1) The northern group as far as No. 60, north of Joppa. (2) The south; the Shephelah and Negeb country. The number of names is sufficient to indicate very clearly the districts, and these may very probably be divided into (1) Ruten and Fenekhu on the north, (2) the plains of Sati in the south. It is in these districts answering to the Biblical, Galilee, Shephelah, and Negeb, that I propose to search for the remaining names.

II.

First Group.

Upper Ruten and Fenekhu.

Section I.

The list commences with the names of the important towns forming the objective (to use a military term) of the campaign. Under the forms *Maketa* and *Ketesh* we recognise undoubtedly Megiddo and Kadesh Naphtali. No. 5 being apparently Beth Tappuah, and No. 16 Hammath, we have indications that the intervening names are to be sought to the south and east of Megiddo.

No. 3, *'Ai.*—This at once recalls the scriptural Ai, a royal city east of the Judæan watershed, with which Mariette Bey identifies it; but the names which follow lead us to search for the site along the course of the Egyptian march. It may possibly therefore be represented by the modern village of Kefr R'ai, an undoubtedly ancient site some four miles west of *'Arrabeh*, supposing the *r* to have become doubled so as to give an ordinary Arabic meaning to the word.

No. 4, *Kethu(na).*—The *na* is supposed by Mariette Bey to be an addition, and he identifies this with the Philistine Gath; eight miles west of Kefr R'ai, we find, however, the important site called Jett, which I have noticed on a former page, as probably the Geuta against which Thothmes advanced. This northern Gath is not impossibly the *Gitta* of early Christian topography, the birthplace of Simon Magus.

No. 5, *'Ansù.*—For this site no suggestion has been offered, but in the district in which the former towns may be supposed to lie is a village called *'Anza*, some four miles east of Kefr R'ai, undoubtedly an ancient site, and close to the line of the Egyptian advance.

No. 6, *Tebuh.*—This represents the Hebrew Tappuah, and accordingly Mariette Bey identifies it with Beth Tappuah in Judah. We have, however, later on another similar name, *Tapunu* (No. 98) in connection with other names undoubtedly near to the Beth Tappuah of Judah. It seems, therefore, more probable that the present town is the Beth Tappuah of Ephraim identified by Robinson with the present 'Atûf, fifteen miles south of Jenin, being in a district open to and easily attainable by an army advancing towards the great plain.

No. 7, *Bamai.*—This name only occurs in the third copy of the list, and appears to be a variation or error in transcription of No. 8, which

is absent in the third copy. A town of this name is mentioned in the Talmud, but farther north.

No. 8, *Kamata*.—The direction in which this and the following names should be sought is apparently towards the east of the great plain. Here we find the village of *Kubatieh* in close proximity to Nos. 9 and 10. The change of *m* or *n* into *b* is very common, as in the case of Timnah, now *Tibneh*, &c.

No. 9, *Tuti(na)*.—The village of Umm el Tût, "Mother of the mulberry," is within a few miles of Kubatieh. It is apparently an ancient site. Indeed the same might be said of any existing village in Palestine, as the choice of a new site is probably almost without example.

No. 10, *Raba(na)*.—The village of *Raba* will be found close to the last, east of Jenin, near the southern border of the great plain.

No. 11, *Keret Sennau*.—The direction in which we may now be supposed to advance towards the Sea of Galilee suggests the identification of this place with Beth-shan in the Jordan valley. The *s* in the Egyptian more properly represents the Hebrew *Samech*, but an undoubted example of a similar confusion of these two sounds will be found given by Mariette Bey in No. 21.

No. 12, *M'arama* or *M'alma* lies probably in a part of the country not yet surveyed. The nearest site in name and position is *'Aulam*.

No. 13, *Tamesku*.—Mariette Bey suggests Damascus, but this being some eighty miles away from Beisan, and sixty from Hammath, seems at too great a distance. The name may possibly be recovered later.

No. 14, *Atara*.—The proximity of Nos. 15 and 16 would lead us to identify this with the present *et Tireh*, a village overlooking the Jordan valley some ten miles north of Beisan.

No 15, *Abira*, close to the last, is the village of *El Bireh* overlooking the wady of the same name.

No. 16, *Hemut*, Mariette Bey himself identifies with Hammath of Naphtali, mentioned also, it will be remembered, in the "Travels of an Egyptian." The site of this town is known to have been near Tiberias. By Josephus it appears to be called Emmaus, and he mentions hot springs. This makes it probably the present *Hŭmmâm Tubarîyeh*, south of the town, where the hot-water baths exist still. A place called Beth-mau also existed four stadia from Tiberias on the road to Sepphoris, and therefore north of the town. This would seem, however, to be identical with the Beth M'ain of the Talmud, and consequently with the ruin of Ibn Ma'an, beside the main road to Sepphoris. These two sites must not be confused.

No. 17, *Akidu*, is possibly the present *Kadis*, about two miles south of the last, unless it be an error for Rakkath, the ancient name of Tiberias down even to the fourth century.

No. 18, *Shem'anau*, may very probably be the present *Seb'ana*, about five miles north of Tiberias.

No. 19, *Bartu*, probably the ruins of *'Ain el Bârideh* ("the cold spring"), two miles from Tiberias. This is generally supposed to be the Dalmanutha of the New Testament.

No. 20, *Madna.*—It will appear from the succeeding names that this town is to be sought in the Ard el Hamma, the plateau above the western cliffs of the Sea of Galilee, the title of which has possibly a connection with that of Hammath.

In this district two towns existed, the first being the Domai of the Jewish itineraries, and the present *ed-Dameh*, possibly the Adami of Naphtali; the second, Adamah, which seems undoubtedly the present ruin of *Admah* discovered by the survey party. (Josh xix. 33, 36.)

Madna, by a very ordinary introversion, may represent either of these towns, but the latter perhaps best. Mariette Bey suggests the royal city Madon (Josh. xii. 19); but there is much reason to suppose that we should read Maron in accordance with the two Septuagint MSS.; the confusion of *d* and *r* in Phœnician or in square Hebrew being of constant occurrence.

No. 21, *Sarâna.*—This site Mariette Bey proposes to identify with the royal Canaanite capital of Sharon, which appears in the English version as Lasharon (Josh. xii. 18). The position of Sharon has never been fixed as yet, but it occurs in the list of Royal cities between Aphek (probably the northern Aphek near Jezreel, 1 Sam. xxix. 1, which may very well be the present *Fukûa*), and Maron (in Upper Galilee). Jerome in the Onomasticon (S. V. Saron) informs us that "even to the present day the region between Mount Tabor and the Lake of Tiberias is called Sarona."

This indication points clearly to the identification of the Biblical Sharon with the present Sîrin, a village on the borders of the Ard el Hamma; being situated immediately between the positions of Nos. 20 and 22, it fits well with the Sarana of the present lists.

22. *Tubi.*—This word, having the meaning of "good" in Hebrew, is the exact equivalent of the Arabic *Taiyibeh*. A village of this name exists five miles south of Sîrîn.

The list so far has been traced in a simple consecutive order, commencing with towns on the line of advance to Megiddo, and enumerating all the most easterly places taken. It is remarkable that these sites all lie in open country easily assailable. The stronger towns on Mount Gilboa, including Jezreel itself, are not noticed. An explanation of this may be taken from the book of Joshua, referring to the conquest of Galilee. "But as for the cities that stood still in their strength, Israel burned none of them" (Josh. xi. 13).

Section II.

The list would now appear to deal with the country conquered in advancing on Kadesh, as indicated by Mariette Bey's identification of Nos. 23, 26, 27 with towns of Asher and Naphtali, on the borders of Fenekhu or Phœnicia.

No. 23, *Batna*, Mariette Bey identifies with Beten a town of Asher. According to the "Onomasticon" this was called Beth-beten in the fourth century, and situate eight miles east of Ptolemais. This position fits well with the order in which Beten occurs in the lists. Vandevelde

suggests *El Baneh* as the site, but the distance from Acca is nearly twelve Roman miles. The true site has probably yet to be found in surveying this district.

No. 24, *Amashna*, and No. 25, *Masakh*, lie in country as yet unsurveyed, and no suggestion can well be hazarded as to their identification. They should, however, be sought between Tyre and Acca.

No. 26, *Kaana*, is no doubt Kanah of Asher, as identified by Mariette Bey. This is apparently the Pa Kanana of the "Travels of an Egyptian."

No. 27, *Arana*.—Probably the Iron of Naphtali, occurring in the Biblical lists between Migdel el (Mujeidel) and En Hazor (Hazzur). Vandevelde identifies it with the present Yarûn, but this position is not altogether satisfactory, either as relating to the Biblical Iron or to the Egyptian Arana, and it may probably be recovered farther north in the course of the survey.

No. 28, *'Astalatu*, and No. 29, *Anaurpaa*, are still to be found in Upper Galilee; the former might possibly be the 'Ailshitha of the Talmud, which seems possibly to be the present *'Atshith*, but this identification is very doubtful.

No. 39, *Makata*, is to be sought near Laish (No. 31). This would point to its identity with the Biblical town of Beth Maachah, or Abel Beth Maachah (2 Sam. xx. 19), named with Dan and Kedesh. It is supposed to have been recovered by Robinson in the present *Abil el Kumh*, three miles west of Dan. The confusion of the *Ain* and *Aleph* in these lists is of frequent occurrence, hence the fact that the guttural appears in the Hebrew is perhaps not important.

No. 31, *Lauza* or *Rauza*, Mariette Bey identifies with the Biblical Laish, afterwards called Dan. The site of Dan is the present Tell el Kadi. Some remains of the name Lauza may perhaps be found in the ruin of *Luweizeh*, some five miles farther north.

No. 31, *Hatzara*, seems probably to be one of the Galilean Hazors. In spite of the statement of Josephus that the Royal city of that name overlooked the waters of Meron, no trace of the name has there been discovered. The identification of No. 32 makes it probable that the town to be understood in this case is the *En Hazor* of Naphtali, now *Hazzûr*.

No. 32, *Pa Hurah*, a town evidently of importance from the article prefixed, and mentioned also in the list of Rameses II. For this Mariette Bey suggests no identification, but it may very well be identified with the Biblical Horem of Naphtali, which Vandevelde identifies with the modern *Hurah*, a position fitting with that required for Pa Hurah.

No. 32, *Kenneratu*, seems evidently to be the Chinnereth of Naphtali, a town which gave its name to the Sea of Galilee. It is mentioned with Adamah (Khirbet Admah according to my proposed identification), and may therefore be sought in the plateau of the 'Ard el Hamma. This suggests its identity with the present *Beit Jenn* in that district. The name is supposed to mean "garden of plenty," but is of great antiquity, and probably of Canaanite origin. In the later times it was changed to "Gennesar" and "Gennesaret," as noticed in the

Talmud, *Sar* being a Chaldean word, meaning "Lord." It must, however, be observed that there is another *Beit Jenn*, or "house of the garden," much nearer to Hûrah, a Druse village, seeming to fulfil both the requisites of the Egyptian record. The name appears as *Kentu* and *Katu* in the second and third copies on Pylone No. VII.

At this point a certain amount of difficulty occurs in the lists; the names of Nos. 36, 37, 38 bear a close resemblance to the biblical Adamah, Kishion, and Shunem, with which Mariette Bey identifies them; but in this case we retrace our steps over a district already noticed, and a great break will occur between No. 38 and 39. The consecutive order is better preserved by the identifications here proposed.

No. 35, *Semana*, from its position in the lists, is possibly the Selamis of Josephus, identified with the present ruin of *Sellâmeh*.

No. 36, *Atamm* or *Adammim*.—This may probably be the present *ed Damûn*, a considerable village, twelve miles west of the last, in the direction in which the list evidently proceeds.

No. 37, *Kasuna*, would in this case be identical with the ruined site called *Tell Keisan*, some two miles west of the last.

No. 38, *Shenama*, from its position should be sought north of the last, in the country not as yet surveyed. A place called *Abu Sinân* exists, however, according to Murray's map, in the required direction, about five miles north of No. 37.

No. 39, *Mashala*, Mariette Bey identifies with Misheal, a town of Asher, near to Achshaph. Its identification with an existing site has not yet been made in a satisfactory manner.

No. 40, *Aksep*, is identified by Mariette Bey with Achzib, but it approaches nearer to the name Achshaph, a town of Asher mentioned in the "Travels of an Egyptian." I have endeavoured to show that the context of the Biblical list makes the position of Achshaph most probably identical with that of the present *Yasif*, which is situate close to the probable position of No. 39, and only about four miles from No. 37.

The list brings us round, therefore, to the starting-point, No. 23, and enumerates in this second division the towns of Phœnicia and Upper Galilee.

It is evident that the towns in the plain of Esdraelon remain to be enumerated before proceeding to the south. In this direction, therefore, we must seek the names occurring between Nos. 40 and 60, guided by Mariette Bey's identifications of Nos. 42, 43, and 52. C. R. C.

(*To be continued.*)

Note.—For almost all the remaining seventy-nine places likely sites are found on the new Survey Sheets.

NOTE ON VARIOUS JEWISH TRADITIONS AS TO THE PLACE WHERE MESSIAS SHOULD BE BORN.

No less than seventy-two Targums upon various passages of the Old Testament exist in which the name Messias has been added in a sentence not to be found in the original. Two of these Targums have a geographical value as giving the origin of certain later traditions.

To the passage in Gen. xxxv. 21, in which Israel is mentioned as pitching his tent "beyond the tower of Eder," the Targum of Jonathan adds, "which is the place where shall be revealed the King Messias in the end of days."

In a former report (*Quarterly Statement*, April 1875, p. 93) I have shown that Migdol Eder, or the "Tower of the Flock," was known in 700 A.D. as about 1,000 paces from Bethlehem, where the mediæval "Monastery of the Holy Shepherds" is still to be found represented by the present Keniset er Raw'at on the edge of the traditional shepherd's plain.

From a passage in the Mishna (Shekalim, vii. 4) we may also conclude that the same place was not far from Jerusalem, and in the original text of the Bible it is mentioned in connection with Jerusalem (Micah iv. 8) and with Bethlehem (Gen. xxxv. 21). There is a considerable ruin near the Keniset er Raw'at called *Khirbet Sir el Ghanem*, "The Ruin of the Sheep Fold." It is, however, not a mere ruined sheepfold, for it is noted as follows in our list of ruins for the Jerusalem plate of the Survey:—

"Walls arched, cisterns, vaults, and tombs, probably early Christian ruins."

This is very probably the site of the original Tower of Eder.

Another Rabbinical tradition seems to refer to the same neighbourhood. A place called Beth 'Arba, Birath 'Arba, or Birath Malcha, is noticed (Preface to Midrash *Ekha* and Berachoth ii. 3, Tal. Jer., as quoted by Neuerbauer) as near Bethlehem, and as the place where Messias should appear. At the farther end of the Shepherds' Plain, on the edge of the Desert of Judah, is a lofty hill-top called *Sh'aib el Rabih*, which is not improbably the 'Arba of the Talmud (ערבא). Ancient ruins under the name Khirbet Johdhum exist at this place, and an old road from Jerusalem to the desert leads across the hill. The whole of the country round can be seen for a great distance from this summit, Bethlehem, four and a half miles to the west, being plainly visible.

These traditions it is interesting to compare with the passage in Matt. ii. 4, whence it appears that in the time of our Lord the Messiah was expected to appear at Bethlehem.

A second and entirely different tradition, also derived from a Targum, places the site of the birth of the expected Messias not far to the north of Nazareth. This Targum I have quoted in a former report, being an addition to Exod. xii. 42.

"Moses cometh forth from the desert and Messias goeth forth from Roma."

Roma is mentioned as though in Galilee by Sæwulf in 1102 A.D. Rabbi Jacob, of Paris, in 1258 A.D., visited the same place, and mentions the tomb of the patriarch Benjamin as existing there, as also a cavern. Rabbi Uri, of Bael, in 1564 A.D., speaks of the same place, and of the Cavern of Caiaran (it is not certain whether this is a proper name or not), from which cavern Messias was expected to appear. From these accounts we gather also that Roma was in the vicinity of Sepphoris (Seffûrieh), Caphar Menda (Kefr Menda), and 'Ailbon ('Ailebûn), and we are thus enabled to identify the traditional site with the present ruin of Rûmeh, near the village of Rummânch (Rimmon of Zebulon).

Visiting this spot in the summer of 1875, I found on the east side of the site of the village (destroyed some thirty years ago) a cavern of moderate dimensions, of which we made a plan, and a rude Jewish tomb with *kokim* cut in soft rock. From the character of the capitals of pillars and other indications, it seems not improbable that a synagogue once stood close to this sepulchre. Instances of synagogues built close to sepulchres are not wanting in Galilee. C. R. C.

THE SHAPIRA POTTERY.

By PROFESSOR SPRENGER, author of "The Life of Mohammed."

(*Reprinted from the Academy of March 11th, by kind permission of the Editor.*)

IT is now a few years since the English press disposed of the Moabite antiquities, and most readers of the *Academy* have probably forgotten all about them. To refresh their memory we may be permitted to remind them that the stir caused by the sale of the stone of Mesa among the Arabs both in Jerusalem and in the Desert was immense. Everywhere search was made after antiquities; in the year 1872 almost every day brought some curious remains into the shop of Shapira in Jerusalem. They were of two kinds, both of which, though different from each other, had something in common with the stone that had fetched so much money. At first the discovery of stone monuments seems to have been frequent. They were not exclusively Moabitic, but resembled the Mesa stone inasmuch as they were all covered with inscriptions, one of them so covered even on both sides. Of architectural ornaments or statues not a fragment turned up. In the eyes of scholars of the rank of Herr Weser, the value of these inscriptions was very great. He writes respecting one of them in the *Journal of the German Asiat. Soc.*:—"This stone contains Psalm 117 in magnificent ancient Hebrew characters, similar to those on the stone of Mesa. Who can tell whether it is not the original from which the Psalm was copied in the Holy Writ?" Some more sober Hebraists discovered several incongruities in the writing, and finally honest Shapira himself came to the conviction that it might possibly be a forgery. It is not improbable that the archæologists of Jerusalem did not go to the expense of having the original executed, yet it is clear from these two instances that monuments in stone did not pay. They now concen-

trated all their attention on a less expensive article, ancient pottery; bearing in mind that since the discovery at Mesa, "Moabitica" had become the rage in Europe, and that men of the stamp of Weser have more taste for inscriptions than for the plastic arts. At this time those single-minded Arabs were very accommodating, and it might have been in the power of M. Ganneau to be of incalculable service to archæology. This gentleman relates that he was asked what sort of inscriptions would be most acceptable. Now supposing he had informed them that in Nineveh a whole library on tablets of clay was discovered, they would have at once understood the hint, and we may be certain that by this time the Museum of Berlin would be in possession of the library of Balak. It appears from Dr. Socin's account, that the indefatigable Shapira formed in 1872 three collections of Moabite pottery, containing respectively 911, 473, and 410 specimens. The few drawings appended to the book before us enable the reader to form an opinion on the value of the contents of these collections without entering deeply into the text. Fig. 1 represents an idol with a cocked-hat, imperial, sleepy eyes, and listless features. Every unprejudiced person to whom we showed it took it at the first glance for a clumsily-made copy of a likeness of Napoleon III. Fig. 2 is a ball, surmounted by a shapeless head, and perfectly meaningless. The object of the artist in modelling it seems to have been to find room for a new sort of inscription which he had just devised. There are only twenty-four letters on the ball, but they are so queer that Schlottmann, who exercised his ingenuity on them, considered the inscription as bilingual, and therefore particularly important. This seems, indeed, to have been the intention of those who devised it and allotted to it so prominent a place. Fig. 5 is a clay pipe. Fig. 7 is a bust in stays, the like of which we see in shop windows in Europe. Figures 8 and 9 are legs with gaiters. From the descriptive part of the pamphlet we learn that the other specimens are no better than those delineated, and Prof. Kautzsch points to the fact that in the whole set a most deplorable want of invention is observable. To the inability of the artist to devise new figures it is due that he modelled from objects like the picture of Napoleon, which, as he had formerly been in the service of M. Ganneau, it is to be presumed he had sufficient opportunity of seeing.

Some of the pottery found its way to Stuttgart, other small lots may have been bought by tourists, but the honour of securing the lion's share was reserved for the Prussian Government. It bought 1,700 choice specimens for 22,000 thalers (£3,300). Of this sum two thousand thalers were contributed by the Emperor. In the meanwhile the late Mr. Drake and M. Ganneau succeeded in tracing the fabrication of the pottery to a man of the name of Seleem, and in pointing out the very oven in which it had been baked. The evidence which they brought forward is so conclusive that it would even satisfy an Irish jury if Seleem had been an Irish patriot. No doubt it also satisfied so clear-sighted a man as Dr. Falk, the Prussian Minister of Public Instruc-

tion, and convinced him that he had been duped. His share in the business consists simply in his having run after false prophets. There were in Berlin men like Wetzstein, who is better acquainted with Syria and the character of its inhabitants than any other man in Germany, and the late Prof. Rödiger, the soundest Biblical scholar of his days; but instead of consulting these the Minister applied for advice to Prof. Fleischer in Leipsic, whose literary pursuits never went beyond the subtleties of Arabic grammar, and to Prof. Schlottmann, an enthusiast, and followed them implicitly. Yet even this mistake, though serious in its results, is pardonable, for these two men enjoy great celebrity in Germany. The Minister might, therefore, without compromising himself, have taken such steps as circumstances demanded. He has as yet remained perfectly silent, and as he is a man of great energy we can ascribe his passiveness only to a desire to spare the aged monarch whose munificence has been so cruelly abused the annoyance which would be caused to him by increasing the publicity of the hoax. The German Consul in Jerusalem, assisted by Herr Weser, as soon as the revelations of Ganneau and Drake reached him, made a sham inquiry, in which the simplicity of honest Weser rendered the task assigned to Seleem and his associates very easy. The principal witness, with Oriental complacence, contradicted the statement which he had given to Mr. Drake in writing, and the defendants invited the consul and Weser to an innocent game of hide-and-seek in the fields of Moab, where they afforded Weser the opportunity of disinterring ancient pottery with his own hands. A report of the proceedings was published in the *Journal of the German Asiatic Society*, and therewith was done what could be done to hush up the matter. If the objects of sale had been rotten silks or wine that turned into vinegar the affair might have been consigned to oblivion, but suppositious antiquities exhibited in a public museum are as dangerous as base coins put into circulation; and it therefore now became the duty of scholars to take care *ne quid detrimenti capiat respublica*. Prof. Kautzsch, a distinguished biblical archæologist, and Prof. Socin, the author of *Baedeker's Palestina und Syrien*, responded to the call, *caveant consules*, and published the pamphlet, or rather the book—for it consists of 191 pages—under review. It is profoundly learned and free from egotism and animosity against opponents to a fault, and Prof. Socin's illustrations of the character of the Shemites, as well as Prof. Kautzsch's essay on the religion of the Moabites, have a permanent value. But it appears to us that a little scurrility would have better served the purpose than elaborate argumentation.

It cannot be said that there is method in Seleem's forgeries; they are extremely odd and whimsical, and archæologists found it difficult to classify them, and to tell for what purpose each description may have been intended. Luckily they were not met with in ruins of cities, but almost anywhere in uninhabited places, at no great depth under ground, and this circumstance reminded Schlottmann of the words of Isaiah (ii. 20), "In that day a man shall cast his idols of silver and his idols of gold, which they made each one for himself to worship, to the moles and

to the bats," and he pronounces them to be Kanaanite *penates* cast away in the manner described by the prophet. Kautzsch remarks that the prophecy refers to the Israelites, and herein he is undoubtedly right; yet it is very likely that it will also be fulfilled in reference to the Moabite idols at Berlin. Kautzsch's own labours may be the cause of their being cast to the moles. At Vienna they are already in discredit. I learn from a private letter that Shapira has sent some specimens for sale to the Oriental Museum there, and that they find no purchaser. The antiquarians have discovered two peculiarities in the terra-cotta figures which give them a clue to their meaning. One is the absence of every kind of detail or ornament, with the exception of seven dots, no more and no less, and in various positions. There are seven dots round the cocked-hat; there are as many on the inexpressible utensil, also under the chin of the pipe-head, as well as on the gaiters, and equally on the moustache of fig. 6 of Kautzsch's illustration. Weser at once caught their meaning (whether by his own ingenuity or on a hint of Selcem we do not know); he recognises in them a symbol of the seven planets, and expresses his conviction that the worship of the stars was not unknown among the Moabites. By this characteristic feature a considerable group, bearing on star-worship, is separated from the rest. Schlottmann points to the fact that the capital of the Moabites is called Areopolis by the Greeks, and that the coins struck there at the time of the Roman emperors bear the figure of Ares, armed with sword and spear, and shield, and he infers from it that Chemosh had, even at a more remote period, been considered as the god of war. Kautzsch reminds us that the Greeks were in the habit of giving to foreign proper names a Greek form, and that at the time when these coins were struck the Moabites had disappeared and the Nebateans had taken their place. He therefore derives Areopolis from Ar, the original name of the Moabite capital, and considers Mars on coins as natural a sequel of the name as the bear in the armorial bearings of Bern and Berlin. As the god of war was originally one of the planets, we may hope that the seven stars on the cocked-hat and the gaiters will enable Schlottmann to hold his position; the former evidently covers the head of Mars, and the latter are not gaiters, but his boots. But, speaking seriously, I think Kautzsch's premisses do not bear so sweeping a conclusion, and that Schlottmann is right in assuming that the gods of small communities generally bore a warlike character, and that in the Ares on coins there may be some recollection of Chemosh.

The other peculiarity which is of great use to the antiquarian is the artist's predilection for obscene subjects. What is more natural than to consider all figures of such a character as illustrations of the cult of Astarte? Schlottmann has taken great pains to show that this lady of doubtful reputation had as many votaries among the Moabites as among the Phœnicians, and he even succeeded in discovering an image of her, and the name which she bore, in Moab. He writes, August 18, 1872, in a postscript to his first report on Moabitic treasures, published in the *Journ. Germ. As. Soc.*, vol. xvi., p. 416:—"At the

same time I receive a copy of the size of the original of a naked female figure with a diadem in the form of a crescent on her head, and on the diadem there is written, in elegant letters: *el 'ammat*. This means, in the *status constructus*, Divinity of the people, or, what is more probable, Divinity of union, and is, in my opinion, equivalent to Astarte. It is, however, just possible that 'Ummath or 'Ammath is the proper name of the goddess." Subsequently he published an engraving of the "Moabitic Astarte" in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch der bibl. Alterthumsk.*, and as the editor of this work professes to exclude every contribution containing controvertible assertions, this novelty was thereby at once raised to the rank of undoubted fact. Professor Kautzsch is visibly horrified at the thought that by these means the error is likely to be perpetuated in schools, and takes great pains to refute it, employing more particularly philological arguments. To me it appears that the inscription is perfectly clear and unimpeachable. When Saleem had succeeded in modelling the lady to his satisfaction, he called her, for the sake of fun, *the aunt*—this is the meaning of *el 'ammat* in Arabic. What I am struck with is, that he, in this instance, for once took the trouble to present to his decipherers a legible word, whereas in other instances, as appears from Kautzsch's analysis of the inscriptions, he put together any letters of the Moabitic alphabet at random, and employed in the poser mentioned above even fancy letters of his own. He first became acquainted with the Moabitic character by copying part of the inscription of Mesa before it was brought to Jerusalem.

I cannot conclude this notice without expressing my esteem for the erudition, ingenuity, zeal, and candour of Prof. Schlottmann. What he wants is the quality which Goethe recommends to every man as most essential—resignation. It is this quality which gives to Kautzsch the vantage ground over his friend and colleague. Both *savans* enter on any given question with the same ardour; but Schlottmann invariably jumps to a conclusion, while Kautzsch weighs not only the *pros* but also the *cons*, and whenever they are of equal force he has resignation enough to confess that his inquiries lead to no result.

NOTE.—On Thursday, March 16th, 1876, on the occasion of the Lower House of the Prussian Diet resuming consideration of the estimates of the Education Department, attention was drawn to the inefficient administration of the Royal museums, and, as an illustration, to the acquisition of the so-called Moabite antiquities. Professor Mommsen spoke strongly on the manner in which their genuineness had been advocated. The purchase was made on the recommendation of the German Oriental Society, and especially on that of Professor Fleischer. The administration of the museums is to be completely reorganised, and, we suppose, the collection destroyed.

LETTER NO. III. FROM DR. TOBLER

SIR,—I have duly received your esteemed letter of the 11th, and the July number of the *Quarterly Statement*, and I am very satisfied with

your translation. I regret that my *Descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ*, the continuation of the *Palestinæ Descriptiones*, did not receive any detailed notice in the English papers. In the *Academy* they only appeared amongst the selected books; in the *Saturday Review*, in such a manner that the writer of the notice could not have properly read the contents; and in the *Athenæum*, to my knowledge, not at all. In the latter paper specially I should have been glad to see a notice. If only for the sake of the Englishman Willibald, my compilation ought to have some attraction for England. At any rate, I must not think of you, as, from what you wrote to me, you are overwhelmed with business.

As far as I know, the two monoliths in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the northern or the grave of Absalom, and the southern or the grave of Zacharias, have hitherto not been properly investigated. It is true one meets with hindrances or difficulties there, because the Jews have buried their dead near the monument, and will not allow them to be disturbed. An attempt at one time to remove all the rubbish around the northern monolith ended with a wail from the Jews, and a prohibition from the authorities, which undoubtedly was not free from bribery. The monument probably dates back to the ancient Jewish time, and then no doubt the whole monument was open to the eyes of all the world; the present inhabitants do not like the famous things built by their ancestors to be seen. It is to be hoped that another attempt may prove successful. I have myself experienced how difficult it is deal with the Jews in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. In 1845 I made a plan of the so-called grave of Jehoshaphat, and carried off a prayer girdle, which I showed to a Jew. Soon afterwards the entrance was stopped up.

As to the southern monolith, it has no visible entrance or opening; therefore it would be necessary to make an opening in the present time. If hindrances were also to be put in the way of the investigations here, it is to be hoped that they would easily be overcome. There is a want of probability in the description of the Frenchman Cassas, who in his fancy sees the monument freed from rubbish, with a flight of twenty-nine steps leading up to it, and down below a square opening into the grave. See Munk's *Palestine*, plate 30.

At least it ought to be possible to cut an opening such as there are everal in the northern monolith, so as to penetrate into the probable cave. If this is barbarous, it is all the more so to oppose the removal of the rubbish, and it was also barbarous to make openings in the other monument; and yet nobody would complain of there being such here, through which one could gain a view of the interior, though not deep enough, if, as is asserted, there is another cave beneath.

Jerusalem is not rich in antiquities of Jewish times, if we pass over the graves, important and worthy of notice as some of them are. All the more is it to be wished that existing ones should be brought to light in their integrity wherever it is feasible.

I had written just so far when the *Quarterly Statement* of July, 1875, reached me. I thank you for it. I now have two copies.

George Grove, Esq. TITUS TOBLER.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND:

A SOCIETY FOR THE ACCURATE AND SYSTEMATIC INVESTIGATION OF THE ARCHÆOLOGY, THE TOPOGRAPHY, THE GEOLOGY AND PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY, THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, OF THE HOLY LAND, FOR BIBLICAL ILLUSTRATION.

PATRON:

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

GENERAL COMMITTEE:

ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, *President.*

Dr. H. W. Acland, F.R.S.
Rev. W. Lindsay Alexander, D.D.
Rev. Henry Allon, D.D.
The President of the American Association
Amhurst Tyssen Amhurst, Esq.
Capt. Anderson, R.E.
Rev. Joseph Angus, D.D.
Duke of Argyll
T. Farmer Baily, Esq.
Rev. Joseph Barclay, LL.D.
James Bateman, Esq., F.R.S.
Rev. Canon Birch
Samuel Birch, Esq., LL.D.
Rev. W. F. Birch
Rev. H. M. Butler, D.D.
Marquis of Bute
Archbishop of Canterbury
Earl of Carnarvon
T. Chaplin, Esq., M.D., *Hon. Sec. for Jerusalem*
Bishop of Chester
Dean of Chester
Dean of Christchurch
Lord Alfred Churchill
Lord Clermont
J. D. Crace, Esq.
John Cunliffe, Esq.
Duke of Devonshire
Earl Ducie
W. Hepworth Dixon, Esq.
Professor Donaldson
Lord Dufferin
F. A. Eaton, Esq.
S. Jackson Eldridge, Esq., *Beyrout*
Bishop of Exeter
Rev. F. W. Farrar, D.D.
James Fergusson, Esq., F.R.S.
A. Lloyd Fox
H. W. Freeland, Esq.
M. Clermont-Ganneau
F. Waymouth Gibbs, Esq., C.B.
Rev. C. D. Ginsburg, LL.D.
Cyril C. Graham, Esq.
James Glaisher, Esq., F.R.S.
Samuel Gurney, Esq.
H. A. Harper, Esq.
Rev. J. C. Harrison
A. J. Beresford Hope, Esq., M.P.
Dr. Joseph D. Hooker, F.R.S.
Holman Hunt, Esq.
Gen. Sir Henry James
Lord Lawrence
E. H. Lawrence, Esq.
Right Hon. A. H. Layard
F. Leighton, Esq., R.A.
General Lefroy
Lord Henry Lennox
Professor Hayter Lewis
Dean of Lichfield
Ambrose L. P. De Lisle, Esq.
Samuel Lloyd, Esq.
Bishop of London
William Longman, Esq.
John MacGregor, Esq.
Dr. Samuel Manning
Master of University College, Oxford
R. B. Martin, Esq.
Rev. Samuel Martin
Henry Maudslay, Esq.
Edward Miall, Esq., M.P.
Sir Moses Montefiore, Bt.
Noel Temple Moore, Esq., *H.B.M. Consul, Jerusalem*
Samuel Morley, Esq., M.P.
Rev. J. Mullens, D.D.
John Murray, Esq.
Sir Charles Nicholson, Bt.
Duke of Northumberland
Admiral Ommanney
Professor Owen, F.R.S.
Sir S. Morton Peto, Bt.
Professor E. H. Palmer
Bishop of Peterborough

GENERAL COMMITTEE (*continued*)—

HERR PETERMANN
REV. E. H. PLUMPTRE
REV. J. L. PORTER, LL.D.
REV. CHARLES PRITCHARD
REV. PROF. PUSEY, D.D
SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, K.C.B., F.R.S.
REV. PROFESSOR RAWLINSON
HENRY REEVE, ESQ.
MARQUIS OF RIPON
BISHOP OF RIPON
EARL RUSSELL
DR. SANDRECZKY
VISCOUNT SANDON
M. DE SAULCY
LORD HENRY J. M. D. SCOTT, M.P.
EARL OF SHAFTESBURY
WILLIAM SIMPSON, ESQ.
WILLIAM SMITH, ESQ., LL.D.
SIR G. GILBERT SCOTT, R.A.
W. SPOTTISWOODE, ESQ., F.R.S.
CAPTAIN R. W. STEWART, R.E.
REV. JOHN STOUGHTON, D.D.
VISCOUNT STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE
DUKE OF SUTHERLAND
REV. A. W. THOROLD
WILLIAM TIPPING, ESQ., M.P.
REV. CANON TRISTRAM, LL.D., F.R.S.
W. S. W. VAUX, ESQ., F.R.S.
THE COUNT DE VOGÜÉ
CAPTAIN WARREN, R.E.
DEAN OF WESTMINSTER, F.R.S.
DUKE OF WESTMINSTER.
REV. GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D.
MAJOR WILSON, R.E., F.R.S.
GEORGE WOOD, ESQ.
BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

W. HEPWORTH DIXON, ESQ., *Chairman.*

CAPTAIN ANDERSON, R.E.
SAMUEL BIRCH, ESQ., LL.D.
J. D. CRACE, ESQ.
F. A. EATON, ESQ.
JAMES GLAISHER, ESQ., F.R.S.
GEORGE GROVE, ESQ., D.C.L.
SAMUEL GURNEY, ESQ.
REV. F. W. HOLLAND.
H. A. HARPER, ESQ.
WILLIAM LONGMAN, ESQ.
WALTER MORRISON, ESQ.
REV. CANON TRISTRAM.
W. S. W. VAUX, ESQ., F.R.S.
CAPTAIN WARREN, R.E.
MAJOR WILSON, R.E., F.R.S.

Bankers—MESSRS. COUTTS AND CO., 59, Strand. THE UNION BANK OF LONDON, Charing Cross Branch, 66, Charing Cross.

Treasurer—WALTER MORRISON, ESQ.

Hon. Secretaries—REV. F. W. HOLLAND, and GEORGE GROVE, ESQ., D.C.L.

Acting Secretary—WALTER BESANT, ESQ. *Office*, 9, Pall Mall East.